

A
GLOBAL
VIEW
OF
RACE
AND
RACISM



FIGURE 1.0

World Cup soccer players leading the fight against racism. In 2014 players held banners like this before every game to declare their stand against racism. (AGIF/Shutterstock.com)

INTRODUCTION TO A GLOBAL VIEW OF RACE AND RACISM



In Buenos Aires in 2001, the Extraordinary Congress of Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) ratified the Resolution to Fight Racism, requiring “all members of the worldwide football community to take every opportunity to maximise the social impact of football to encourage social inclusion and the elimination of racism in society” (FIFA 2001). (Football is known as soccer in the United States.)

Soccer is the most-watched sport in the world. The FIFA World Cup final is the largest sporting event in history. In the latest World Cup, in 2014, nearly a billion people from all over the world watched as teams from more than 200 nations vied for the championship (Cleland 2015). Soccer, like many other sports, is riddled with racism. Fans, players, managers, and referees have displayed shocking racism on and off the field. Many people in the soccer community, however, are committed to fighting racism. Team members expressed their position by marching on the field before every World Cup game in 2014 with banners that read “Say No to Racism.” This is certainly a laudable goal, and millions of people witnessing famous and idolized sports figures standing up against racism is thrilling. But what exactly is racism, what does it mean globally, and what exactly is being done or should be done to end it?

This book is about race and racism around the world. What does race mean? Where did the idea of race come from? What is it currently connected to? What is racism? How do race and racism vary from one nation to the next?

Like soccer—a sport widely played and followed all over the world, but only a secondary sport in the United States—this book focuses on these issues outside of the United States. The United States is often seen as a prototype of race and racism, and much of the research and thinking about what race is and how racism is practiced comes from the study of American society. Race and racism, however, are part of every society today, and this book takes a global view of these issues.

The example of FIFA's attempts to address the problem of racism also illustrates an important feature of this book—resistance. Racism is a difficult and pervasive problem, but many people have fought against it, and those struggles continue today.

This chapter begins by looking at some definitions of race and then reviews several theories about race: assimilationist, pluralist, market, conflict/economic, critical race theory, and intersectionality. The chapter concludes with further consideration of race as a global issue.

WHAT IS RACE?

This book is going to introduce you to a way of thinking about and talking about race that you may not have heard before. Many people, scholars and everyday people alike, use the word *race* to talk about different groups of people. The term *race*, however, is problematic because it has two meanings.

The first meaning of race is one that involves some measurable biological factor such as skin color, eye shape, or genetic makeup. This assumes that race is real in some physical sense and that every human can be consistently identified as belonging to one of a handful of races.

The second meaning of race is that it is not based on a consistently measurable physical feature but rather involves an arbitrary way of dividing up people and then asserting that the categories are made up of real, measurable distinctions. In other words, race in this second sense is something that we have invented; it is not built into our bodies. This second way of talking about race asserts that race is real only as a social relationship and that humans do not come in real biological races. This second way of thinking about race is that there is only one biological race of humans—the human race.

Finding a word to talk about race becomes confusing if we want to stay focused on the second meaning of race—as a social factor, not a biological factor. But what word should we use to talk about race to avoid confusing the two meanings? I use the word *race/ethnicity* to remind us that race is a social relationship that cannot be linked to any real biological differences among humans. In the next chapter, we will explore the argument that race is not a real biological factor among humans. We will also review some of the discussion around finding words to talk about race as exclusively a social factor.

In this chapter, we will begin by looking at some of the ways scholars have defined and theorized about race/ethnicity. Weiner (2012, 334) defines race/ethnicity as “ascribed physical, biological, and/or cultural differences that are essentialized and define resources, choices, and opportunities based on social representations of inferiority/superiority attached to these differences” (Cornell and Hartmann 2002; Daynes and Lee 2008; Goldberg 1993; Omi and Winant 2014).

First, you should note the word *ascribed*, which means the attributes associated with race/ethnicity are assigned rather than inevitable or naturally linked. The attributes that are associated with what we believe to be race/ethnicities are not material facts. Instead, they are factors that as societies we have deemed to be significant and have learned to identify and distinguish. In other words, we must learn what race/ethnicity means and how to identify it. For example, skin color is often strongly linked to our notions of race/ethnicity. But which colors fit into which racial/ethnic categories? Where are the lines drawn? And why is skin color more important than other variations we see among people? We are not born knowing how to answer these questions and we are not born even knowing these are important questions to ask.

Second, you should note the word *essentialized*, which means that the differences among people we learn to see are made to seem natural and inevitable. Although we must learn what our society believes race/ethnicity is, we are simultaneously taught that these distinctions are not learned and are part of the natural fabric of humanity. We learn that everyone is born into a particular race/ethnicity and that people in each race/ethnicity are characterized by not only specific physical characteristics but also a broad set of social talents, proclivities, and interests. The lessons we learn about these categories, however, are so profound they become invisible and we forget we ever had to learn them.

Third, you should note *resources, choices, and opportunities*. Our ideas about race/ethnicity are not just a matter of distinguishing among various groups of people. Race/ethnicity becomes a major determinant of how our lives will be led. Whether we will be hired for one job or another, whether we will live in the city or the suburbs, whether we will be able to buy our clothes at Harrod's or the secondhand store, what diseases we will succumb to, and how long we will live are all shaped and even determined by our race/ethnicity.

The last words in Weiner's definition that you should note are *inferiority/superiority*. Race/ethnicity does not just indicate difference. It specifies a rank in a hierarchy of different groups. Some race/ethnicities are perceived and treated as less than others—less intelligent, less worthy, even less human.

A Question of Power

One word that will be a central concept in our exploration of race/ethnicity in this book is missing from Weiner's definition. That word is *power*. Throughout this book, we will see that race/ethnicity is a contested concept that varies across time, space, and scholars. Race/ethnicity has been defined differently at different times in history and it continues to be understood in diverse ways in different nations and neighborhoods. Within the academic community, scholars use the terms and study and theorize about race/ethnicity and racism in competing and even conflicting ways. One element persists, however, and that is the question of power (Feagin and Elias 2013). Lynn Weber's conceptualization of race/ethnicity adds to Weiner's initial definition by focusing on the question of power. Weber argues that race/ethnicity is a *system of oppression*. "Oppression exists when one group has historically gained power and control over valued assets of a society (e.g., wealth, information, and political power) by exploiting the labor and lives of other groups and then by using those assets to secure its position of power into the future. In exploitative relationships, the welfare of one group of people—the exploiters, the dominant group—depends on the poverty and efforts of another—the exploited, the subordinate group. Exploitation is thus a power relationship resulting from and reinforcing the unequal distribution of the productive assets of society" (Weber 2009, 23).

Weber (2009) further explains that power encompasses a number of forms. Symbolic power allows some people to classify one group as normal and others as abnormal. Political power creates institutions that can withhold rights to citizenship from people in the subordinated

group and can enforce segregation and inequality. Economic power privileges those in the dominant group with income and wealth and oppresses and exploits those in the subordinate group.

What Are Racism and White Privilege?

What is racism? *Racism* has two meanings. First, it can refer to ideas that support the belief that humans can be divided into real biological groups called race and that those “races” are naturally unequal making some races better than others and justifying the unequal access to resources, choices and opportunities. Second, it can refer to the practices that promote racist ideas and seek to create and maintain institutions that perpetuate racial inequality.

The corollary of racism is *white privilege*, described by Peggy McIntosh with examples of white privilege in her classic essay on the topic (1988). Membership in a dominant racial/ethnic group affords people benefits every day about which they are usually unaware. McIntosh’s list draws our attention to the everyday privileges a white person in the United States has that other people in the country do not have. Box 1.1 shows a list of examples of white privilege. Although many of the examples travel across the globe, because McIntosh is an American some of the examples may not fit as well in other places. For example, the first item on the list would not be an issue among black people in South Africa. Also, because McIntosh is an American, she uses color as the criteria for noting privilege. That is, white people are privileged relative to people of color. We will see in this text that color is important to the conceptualization of race/ethnicity and the practice of racism in many places but not all. White in the list in the box represents those people in power.

In this book, we will be looking at race/ethnicity as it is organized and experienced in communities around the world. Our exploration of the global variations, similarities, and differences will help us to more fully understand what race/ethnicity is and how it reveals the characteristics outlined in Weiner’s and Weber’s definitions. These definitions, however, are just a starting point. As we proceed, we should be careful to keep an open mind about how best to define and understand race/ethnicity and racism. In our examination of what people around the world believe to be race/ethnicities and what this means in their everyday experience, we will see that the concept of race/ethnicity is an unsettled issue. Our goal should not be to simplify. Rather we should strive to become more aware of the complexity of our experience of race/ethnicity and our understanding of it.

BOX 1.1

Examples of White Privilege

1. I can if I wish, arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
2. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
3. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
4. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence and contribution of their race.
5. Whether I use debit/credit cards or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
6. I do not have to educate my children to be aware of systemic racism for their own daily physical protection.
7. I can swear, or dress in secondhand clothes, or not answer e-mails, or come late to a meeting without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals or the poverty or illiteracy of my race.
8. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
9. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
10. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to the "person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race.

SOCIAL THEORY

Although you are probably are unaware of it, you are constantly analyzing your social environment. You predict events, make assumptions, interpret behavior, correlate activities and feelings with other activities and feelings, and assign significance to interactions among people. All of these actions—predicting, assuming, interpreting, correlating, and assigning significance—are aspects of creating sociological analysis. You probably engage in these activities, however, without giving them much thought, and if someone were to ask you what your analysis of a social issue is—what theory are you using—you would have a difficult time answering them.

Even though you may not realize it, you are using theoretical frameworks to understand the world. Sociologists are people who

11. If a traffic cop pulls me over, I can be sure I have not been singled out because of my race.
12. I can worry about racism without being seen as self-interested or self-seeking.
13. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having my coworkers on the job suspect that I got it because of my race.
14. I can be pretty sure of finding people who would be willing to talk with me and advise me about my next steps, professionally.
15. I can think over many options, social, political, imaginative or professional, without asking whether a person of my race would be accepted or allowed to do what I want to do.
16. I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.
17. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
18. I can arrange my activities so that I will never have to experience feelings of rejection owing to my race.
19. If I have low credibility as a leader, I can be sure that my race is not the problem.
20. I can easily find academic courses and institutions that give attention only to people of my race.

Source: McIntosh, Peggy. 1988. "White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies." Working Paper 189. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

become conscious of the ways that one might understand the world. They are aware of the ways in which we can make assumptions, interpret behavior, see connections, and consider predictions. Furthermore, sociologists have created a number of *scientific social theories* to help them examine and understand social issues, including the question of race/ethnicity. Scientific theories are systematically organized frameworks for understanding that can be tested empirically.

Theory is an essential feature of sociological inquiry. Theory helps us understand and explain our social experience, and it also helps us determine ways to resolve the problems we uncover. We cannot solve problems that we cannot comprehend and explain. Nancy Hartsock writes, "Our theory gives us a description of the problems we face, provides an analysis of the forces which maintain social life, defines the problems we should concentrate on, and acts as a set of criteria for

evaluating the strategies we develop" (1993, 8). Based on her reading of Antonio Gramsci (1971), Hartsock argues that theory not only can serve as a guide to social change but also can become a force for change. When our understanding of social issues is enhanced by theory and our political activities are thereby made more efficient, theory serves as a tool for accelerating the process of social change.

One kind of theory that sociologists have identified in our attempt to understand race/ethnicity and racism is *biological theory*, which focuses on the connection between biology and race/ethnicity. This kind of theory posits that (1) race/ethnicity is a real biological fact, (2) humans can be systematically placed into racial/ethnic categories, and (3) the character of the categories and the relationships between them are a natural and unchanging aspect of our species. Theorists who are part of these schools of thought believe that people in the various categories—race/ethnicities—differ genetically and that those genetic variations create orderly and identifiable variations in the appearance and behavior of the members of the various race/ethnicities. Some versions of this point of view emphasize the inferiority of the people in race/ethnicities that have historically been oppressed, claiming that the more privileged race/ethnicities are biologically superior and have therefore overcome the inferior people. They might argue that lighter-skinned people are better rulers or more technologically skilled and therefore naturally dominate darker-skinned people. Other versions of this point of view emphasize what they believe to be the natural racism of those in the more privileged groups. They might argue that racism is a natural and inevitable characteristic of lighter-skinned people and that racial inequality is a result of this biological predisposition of lighter-skinned people to treat darker-skinned people in demeaning ways and to create social institutions that keep darker-skinned people in less powerful positions and allow them less access to the social, economic, and political resources of society.

Although few people are fully conscious of the kinds of theoretical frameworks they use in everyday life to understand the world around them, they are in fact relying on theories. And when it comes to race/ethnicity, most people use a biological framework to look at the people with whom they meet and relate (Byrd and Ray 2015). The average person on the street assumes that (1) his or her perception of race/ethnicity is real, (2) everyone can be placed in one racial/ethnic group or another, and (3) the relationships among those groups is determined

by the supposedly natural inferiority and superiority of some groups relative to others.

Scientists, however, have determined that a biological explanation for race/ethnicity and racism cannot make a very strong case for itself, and the scientific community now rejects biological theories about race. In the next chapter, we will look at the history of how scientists have come to this conclusion and the evidence they cite as refuting biological theories.

Theories about Race/Ethnicity

What are other theories of race/ethnicity? If scientists are in agreement that biological theories are not valid, what other theories have they developed to explain racial/ethnic inequality? Carter Wilson (1996) proposes several models for studying racial/ethnic relations and racial/ethnic oppression. The first two models he identifies are assimilationist and pluralist theories. *Assimilationist* frameworks assume that when people from different groups come into contact with each other, they begin to compete over resources. This causes conflict and tensions and they begin to see people in the “other” groups as fundamentally different—as separate race/ethnicities who are less deserving of the resources and as adversaries in gaining access to them. Eventually, however, those tensions and differences disappear as the two groups become more familiar with each other and more similar to each other, adapting each other’s ways of behaving and interacting and as a result their interactions and the idea that the community can be divided into separate and competing race/ethnicities begins to disappear.

This theory developed from the work of Robert Park (Park and Burgess 1924) who identified four stages in the process of what he called the *race relations cycle*: initial contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation (Wilson 1996). We will see an example of an assimilationist framework in the chapter on Brazil when we look at the way in which race in Brazil was perceived historically by scholars writing in the early twentieth century. During that time, many Brazilian scholars believed that assimilation through intermarriage had ended racism and increasingly was causing racial/ethnic differences to disappear.

This way of thinking about assimilation might be called an integration approach because it seems to assume that (1) both of the communities that come in contact with each other will give and take and

(2) eventually a balanced mix of the two will be the end product. Some scholars, however, argue that what has been called assimilation is not one in which each group is mutually influenced by the other, resulting in a new culture. Rather, what is called assimilation is more likely the absorption of the less powerful group that has been forced to adopt the behaviors and values of those in power in order to fit in—or even to survive. In Chapter 6 we will be exploring the political debate over assimilation in Europe.

Pluralism is a theory that is similar to assimilationist frameworks because it too predicts that different racial/ethnic groups move through the kinds of stages Park theorized. Pluralism, however, is quite different from assimilationist theories in one way. Assimilationists posit that the resolution of racial conflicts develops naturally over time through contact. Pluralists believe that resolution occurs only through the implementation of policies that facilitate the end of the competition and tension (Wilson 1996). Pluralists assert that people must take conscious action to end racism by engaging the government in programs and policies that address inequities and tensions among racial/ethnic groups who are competing for access to goods and services such as housing, jobs, and education. Pluralists believe that the state must intervene to create laws to ensure that the ways in which people interact and the ways in which social institutions are organized protect the rights of all racial/ethnic groups and end racial/ethnic discrimination. Some pluralists, who call themselves multiculturalists, are careful to simultaneously insist that the distinctions among those groups should be protected so that cultural diversity does not vanish. This perspective is the dominant framework of social policy in many nations, including twenty-first century Brazil (Chapter 8), as well as places such as Britain, Malaysia (Chapter 6), India (Chapter 4), and Vietnam (Chapter 9).

The next two theories Wilson (1996) identifies take an economic point of view, criticizing pluralists for ignoring the importance of the economic context. One version of the economic framework is the market, or neoconservative approach, which maintains that in a capitalist system, if the government does not interfere, the free market will eliminate racial/ethnic distinctions and racial/ethnic inequality. *Market theorists*, unlike pluralists, argue that the government must *not* interfere in the relationships among various racial/ethnic groups. Rather, they assert that if we wish to see racial discrimination disappear, we must leave it to the “invisible hand” of the free market to resolve the tensions. Market theorists argue that racial/ethnic discrimination

raises the cost of labor. If some workers are privileged because of their race/ethnicity and are therefore paid better wages, capitalists are less able to extract the most capital from the total labor force and the system, as a whole, is less profitable (Wilson 1996). This theory is articulated by Sowell (1981) who maintains that left alone, the free market will eventually hire the most skilled workers at the lowest wages, regardless of their race/ethnicity. As a result of this kind of equity in the labor market, equity in access to resources such as housing and education as well as access to political power will follow and racial/ethnic inequality and the very concept of race/ethnicity will become irrelevant.

The second economic argument outlined by Wilson (1996) comes from the other side of the political spectrum—class conflict theorists. *Class conflict theorists* view social class and the economy as the central factors that underlie all other factors and therefore are similar to market theorists in their focus on the economy as the key factor in shaping systems of racial/ethnic inequality. They, too, are critical of pluralists arguing that the economic context and especially the social class system are so significant that they cannot be ignored. Class conflict theorists argue that the reforms identified by the government to end racism will not be implemented or will not be sufficient to end racial/ethnic inequality as long as social class inequality (and the system that generates social class—capitalism) remains. Some class conflict theories reduce race/ethnicity to social class. That is, they too argue that the market is designed to use labor, regardless of its racial/ethnic identity, in a way that produces the greatest profit. Furthermore, class conflict theorists, who ignore or at most see race/ethnicity as a secondary issue, maintain that what we see and experience as racism is largely a product of a social class system that oppresses all working class people. For example, they argue that all working class people of color, as well as all white workers, are subject to the exploitation of the ruling class. Unlike market approach theories, however, class conflict theories claim that the ruling class is not race blind when it comes to hiring the cheapest labor because racism is an essential piece of an overall system of exploitation. Class conflict theorists believe that racism is promoted by members of the ruling class because it benefits them when factions of the working class are in conflict with one another. Furthermore, racism provides a scapegoat for the system when white workers, for example, blame workers of color for their problems rather than blaming the system of capitalism or the capitalists themselves. In addition, competition over jobs means that paying workers of color extraordinarily low wages provides

an anchor on the costs of labor. White workers must accept lower wages because they are threatened with being replaced by workers of color who are paid the lowest wages possible.

Market theorist and class conflict theorists are in agreement about the way in which capitalists exploit all workers regardless of their race/ethnicity. These two theories disagree, however, in their assessment of whether or not racism benefits the ruling class. Market theorists argue that a working class divided by race/ethnicity is a hindrance to the most efficient accumulation of capital. Class conflict theorists argue that racial/ethnic inequality benefits capitalists by preventing the unity of the working class, creating competition among workers and hindering the class as a whole from challenging the capitalist system, which keeps everyone's wages low and the system generating profits for those at the top.

Economic theories—both market theories and class conflict theories—that subsume race/ethnicity as a secondary feature of social class have been criticized because they ignore the fact that people live their lives as not only members of a social class but as members of a racial/ethnic identity (Marable 2004). Race/ethnicity is a social fact in our individual everyday lives. Furthermore, these two types of economic theories ignore the fact that social institutions are not only embedded with social class inequality but also with racial/ethnic injustice. Schools, the criminal justice system, housing markets, labor markets, religious institutions, and healthcare, for example, are all organized around not only inequities among social classes, but inequities among social categories of race/ethnicity. The market model is especially prone to ignoring the social context of the supposedly free market. But class conflict theorists also do not pay sufficient attention to the social forces that are not only determined by the economy but in turn work to shape the economy. Laws defend the rights of the ruling class but they also maintain systems of racial/ethnic apartheid. Similarly, schools and media maintain racial/ethnic as well as social images, boundaries, and hierarchies. Neighborhoods are not only divided between rich and poor but are often sharply segregated by race/ethnicity. The police do not just patrol low-income neighborhoods; they actively seek out people of color who live in those neighborhoods harassing, assaulting, arresting and imprisoning black and brown people at much higher rates compared to whites (Marable 2004). Although race/ethnicity is not a biological fact, it is truly a powerful social fact.

Critical race theory emerged in the twentieth-century United States during the U.S. civil rights movement and was based on the earlier work

of W. E. B. Du Bois (1903) and Frantz Fanon (1963) (Cole 2009). Theorists from this school of thought were responding to what they saw as the erasure of race/ethnicity by economic theorists. Critical race theorists are similar to other conflict theorists in their belief that cleavages among social groups such as social classes and race/ethnicities are not an aberration. Rather they are central to the organization of societies. Assimilationists, in contrast, assume that societies are generally in a state of equilibrium that is disrupted when they come in contact with people from another society but that disruption eventually disappears as the trajectory for any society is in the direction of equilibrium. Conflict theorists argue that tensions and conflict are always part of human societies and that within capitalist systems, they are marked by clashing of social groups with fundamentally conflicting interests. Some conflict theorists, such as those we reviewed above, focus on social class as this central tension. Critical race theorists focus on race as the more significant factor.

Richard Delgado has outlined four central tenets of critical race theory (Shuford 2001). Delgado's work focuses on the United States, and his tenets directly address American society. These insights, however, could be applied to the rest of the world by a critical race theorist.

- Skepticism toward liberalism and its belief in incrementalism. Critical race theorists argue that racism, with its centuries-long history and its deep roots in all of our social institutions and social experiences, will not be easily erased. Although there are some signs of improvements in racial/ethnic justice here and there, the overall problem has not been resolved and cannot be resolved without fundamentally changing our societies.
- Insistence that racism is a normal feature of social life. Critical race theorists maintain that racism is so much a part of our everyday lives and our social institutions that for most white people and even many people of color it has become invisible. In Chapter 8, we will explore Feagin's (2010) concept of white frames as a way of recognizing the hidden "normalness" of racism.
- Critique of one-size-fits-all civil rights law and its protection of inequity under formal "colorblindness." Although it is now applied in many disciplines such as anthropology, political science, education, and sociology, critical race theory originated among legal scholars (Bell 2008). The writings of critical race theorists continue to be focused on legal questions. They especially

concentrate on the debate over whether our goal should be to have laws that treat everyone the same and ignore race/ethnicity or to include race/ethnicity as a factor in our decisions about legal matters. One of the most well-known examples of this debate is over the question of affirmative action and quotas in institutions of higher education (Guinier 2000). In the chapters on Brazil, Malaysia, India, and South Africa, we will examine affirmative action programs.

- A call to pay attention to context (Shuford 2001). Critical race theorists remind us that because of the pervasiveness of racism, scholars must be aware of and examine issues of race/ethnicity and racism as they exist in the broad context of history, economics, relationships of power, and even psychological factors such as emotions and unconscious (Delgado and Stefancic 2006). In the discussion of indigenous people in Japan in Chapter 4, we will examine the emotional costs of racism.

Intersectionality Theory

W. E. B. Du Bois was an African American scholar writing in the early twentieth century about race and racism. Anticipating both contemporary economic class conflict theorists and critical race theorists, he argued that (1) both race ethnicity and social class were rooted in the economic processes of capitalism and (2) both of these operated alongside and intertwined with one another so that neither could be reduced to the other. More recently, this idea has been developed into the *theory of intersectionality* by scholars such as Kimberle Crenshaw (1992) and Patricia Hill Collins (2000).

Collins outlined the theory of intersectionality arguing that our social lives and our societies were marked not by independent identities and characteristics but instead by intersecting systems. Furthermore, the systems of human domination do not exist autonomously. Rather, they intersect and mutually constitute each other (Fleming and Morris 2015). Writing mostly about the United States, Collins maintained that the most important of these systems are race/ethnicity, social class, and gender. Each of these social factors is a complex system of identities, ideologies, institutions, and practices. Although we can analyze these systems separately, in real life they do not stand alone or side by side. Instead, they exist as intersecting webs. Each consists of a hierarchy in which some social categories dominate others. For example, in gender, men dominate women, in race/ethnicity, whites have power over people

of color, and in social class, the wealthy rule over everyone else. But these hierarchies intersect in contradictory ways; some men may have a lesser position of power than some women and some white people are disadvantaged compared to some people of color. For example, wealthy women have more power than poor men and a black man may be more privileged than a white woman of the same class.

In this book, we will be focusing especially on the intersections of race/ethnicity and the system of international inequality between colonial powers and the people and nations they colonized and more recently, between the global North and South. We will see that much of the problem of racism is rooted in colonialism but racial injustice persists today even after the decline of direct colonial rule. Through its wealth, the *global North* (nations and regions of the world that are mostly toward the “top” of the globe, such as the United States and Europe) dominates the *global South* (poorer, less powerful nations and regions such as Africa, Latin America, and India, which are mostly toward the “bottom” of the globe). The system of global inequality between the North and South are noted by intersectional theorists, but they have not been emphasized as much as other systems by gender, race/ethnicity, social class, and sexuality.

Intersectionality theory also asserts that because of the interdependence of these systems, inequality and injustice in one system cannot be solved without also addressing the multiple systems with which it intersects. When we examine the intersection of race/ethnicity with the global inequality among nations, we will see how these two systems developed historically in conjunction with each other. In addition, we will explore how today they are so interconnected, it is difficult to see where one begins and the other ends. For example, if we wish to understand the genocide that occurred in Rwanda in the 1990s, we will need to see not only the racism that fueled the mass murder of Tutsi by the Hutu majority but the ways in which the colonial powers shaped those identities. We will also need to understand the ways in which contemporary global inequality and the extreme poverty experienced by many nations in the global South continue to influence the social contexts in which genocide occurs.

The Global Character of Race/Ethnicity

W.E.B. Du Bois argued that international inequality was an essential factor in the organization of race/ethnicity and racism. When he predicted that the problem of the twentieth century would be the problem

of the color line, he was in fact referring to a *global color line*, “the relations of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea” (Du Bois 1903, 13). Scholars of the twenty-first century agree with this seminal idea proposed by Du Bois. “Race has been a fundamental force in the very making of the modern world system and in the representations and explanations of how that system emerged and how it works” (Passaud and Walker 2001). Thompson (2013), for example, explains how race has been central to human history over the past seven centuries: “Race was born in the transnational realm and bred to be central to discourses of modernity, empire, and capitalism. Race is linked with and rearticulated by the major transnational movements of the modern era—the global slave trade, abolitionism, social Darwinism, eugenics, suffrage, Keynesianism, human rights, the anti-apartheid movement and the new politics of terrorism of the twenty-first century have all reproduced and changed the meaning of race.” Furthermore, ideas and practices regarding race/ethnicity and racism have shaped all of these movements.

The centrality of race/ethnicity for people around the globe persists in the current period. “The first global attempt to speak of equality focused upon race. The first human rights provisions in the United Nations Charter were placed there [in the mid-twentieth century] because of race. The first international challenge to a country’s claim of domestic jurisdiction and exclusive treatment of its own citizens centered upon race. The international convention with the greatest number of signatories is that on race. Within the United Nations, more resolutions deal with race than any other subject. And certainly one of the most long-standing and frustrating problems in the United Nations is that of race. Nearly one hundred eighty governments, for example, recently went as far as to conclude that racial discrimination and racism still represent the most serious problems for the world today” (Lauren 1988, 4; see also United Nations 2012).

In this book, we will investigate this most serious problem in the world today. If you are a student in the United States, you may have already learned how race/ethnicity is a central factor in US society and how racism persists as blight on our lives. But the United States is not alone. Race/ethnicity and racism are aspects of most if not all societies on the earth today. Our exploration, therefore, will take us on a journey around the world where we will ask (Schwalbe et al. 2000):

What kind of racial/ethnic inequalities exist?

How large are these inequalities?

How are these inequalities created and reproduced?

How do people resist and seek to overturn racial/ethnic injustice?

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

Race, race/ethnicity, racism, power and oppression, white privilege, scientific social theory, biological theory, assimilationist theory, race relations cycle, pluralist theory, market economic theory, class conflict theory, critical race theory, intersectionality theory, global North, global South

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Weber suggests that the concept of power should be central to our understanding of race. Do you agree? Can we understand race without considering power?
2. This chapter outlines several theories about race. What does each theory imply about how best to address the problem of racial injustice?
3. Ask two of your friends how they define race and then compare their answers to the definition given by Weiner at the beginning of the chapter. How are their answers similar to Weiner's? Which components do they include? How are they different? Do they mention anything you think should be added to Weiner's definition?
4. Imagine that a classmate has missed the lecture on intersectionality and asks you to explain it. How would you explain the theory? How does it differ from each of the other theories?

2



FIGURE 2.0

DNA is the code our cells carry that shape our biological selves. Race is not part of the DNA of humans. Race, however, is a powerful social construct. *[Tatiana Shepeleva/Shutterstock.com]*

THE MYTH OF BIOLOGICAL RACES AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RACE/ETHNICITIES



This is a picture of DNA, the code our cells carry that shape our biological selves. DNA was discovered by Swiss biochemist Frederick Miescher in the late 1800s, but it was not until 1953 through the work of James Watson, Francis Crick, Maurice Wilkins, and Rosalind Franklin that scientists began to understand just how important DNA is. DNA is the blueprint for life. In the last line of their research report on DNA, James Watson and Francis Crick wrote, "It has not escaped our notice that the specific pairing we have postulated immediately suggests a possible copying mechanism for the genetic material" (Watson and Crick 1953, 738). What they meant by this is that because we now understood the underlying code of the cells of all living things, including humans, we could not only alter those living things, we could replicate them. We could create existing living species and create new ones.

Humans come in many sizes, shapes, and colors, and our appearance is largely a matter of our DNA, at least when we are born. Every individual's DNA gives us a unique code that is expressed in our bodies. The discovery of DNA and our growing understanding of genetics has had a profound effect on our knowledge and understanding of race/ethnicity among humans. Genetics provides us with a way of knowing whether biological races exist among humans—whether race is real.

Most people believe that race/ethnicity is a biological fact. Race/ethnicity has such power in our lives that we have difficulty thinking about it as something that it is not a natural characteristic of humans that we can touch and measure as something that comes from our DNA. Race/ethnicity, however, is not a biological fact. Rather, it is a

social construct, which means that we have created it to define ourselves and others but it is not something that exists outside of our minds.

This chapter is divided into two sections addressing two intertwined ideas:

1. Race is not a biological fact among humans.
2. Race is an extraordinarily important social construct among humans.

Chapters 3 to 9 develop this second issue—how is race/ethnicity socially constructed—by exploring the way in which race/ethnicity and racism are organized and experienced around the world.

The first section of this chapter describes the debate over the idea that humans come in distinct immutable categories/races by reviewing the long history and the eventual dismissal of that idea as scientifically invalid. In addition we will examine the newly emerging issues related to the human genome project. We will also explore the variation in the understanding of race/ethnicity around the world as evidence of the weakness in the argument that race is real. In addition, we will look at some of the important problems that emerge, especially in regard to health and medicine, when race/ethnicity persists in the minds of physicians and researchers as a real biological distinction.

The second half of the chapter turns to the concept of social construction. What does it mean to say that race/ethnicity is a social construct? What does our definition of race/ethnicity as a social construct do to our understanding of distinctions between race and ethnicity? Finally, we consider the issue of the social construction of race/ethnicity in the current global context and the importance of recognizing in particular the economic and political factors of neocolonialism and capitalism in that global context.

BIOLOGY OF RACE

Undoubtedly you have been asked many times in your life to identify your race/ethnicity by checking a box or providing a word such as black, white, Latino, or First Nation to describe yourself. You may have

puzzled about what these words mean and where you fit, but like most people you probably believe that the question “what is your race?” is a valid one and that humans can be divided into separate racial categories. You probably also believe that these categories are fairly uniform across historical periods and national boundaries. Both of these beliefs, however, are not true. Humans cannot be divided into separate races in any scientific way. Race/ethnicity is a human construct; it is not a part of biology. It is not something that is part of our physical bodies. Race/ethnicity does not come from our skin, hair, or genes. Race/ethnicity is, however, a real material aspect of the social institutions and social relationships we have created in our interactions with one another. One of the strongest pieces of evidence that race/ethnicity is not a natural given among humans is that what is considered race/ethnicity—what factors are considered evidence of being in one race/ethnicity or another and how humans are divided into various categories—varies from one place to another and one historical period to another. And, now to back that up, we have scientific evidence from geneticists that race/ethnicity is not in our DNA.

Let us explore the assertion that humans cannot be divided into distinct biological racial categories on the basis of some scientifically measurable factors. What might these factors be? Two kinds of factors have been examined by scientists to try to find out whether humans come in races and what those races might be. Early distinctions among humans were made on the basis of phenotype. That is, people attempted to measure variations in human appearance such as skin, eye, and hair color; hair texture; and nose, mouth, and eye shape. This is probably the system you carry around in your head to categorize people.

Later, people began to think about the heritage of individuals, for example, by asking what their parents looked like and what racial/ethnic category they fit into because of their appearance. You may also use this as part of your system of racial/ethnic categories when you see a person who “fits” into one category but you know that their parents are from two different categories. For example, if you did not know who President Obama’s parents were, you would probably place him in the category of black or African American. Supposing you found out that his mother is white and his father is black. If you were American, you might readjust your thinking and place him in the category of mixed. If you were Brazilian, you might identify him as white since one of his parents is white and he is an elite American. If you were South African, you might consider him Coloured.

The second kind of categorization is more recent and asserts that race/ethnicity is based on our genetic makeup, our genotype. This argument maintains that humans can be divided into members of different genetic pools that are mutually exclusive. According to this argument, if we were to test everyone's genes, we would be able to identify a relatively small number of genetic pools with clearly definable boundaries into which all humans could find a place. Scientists have been grappling with these ideas for a long time and have concluded that both of these kinds of categorizations are not rational and cannot be empirically defended (Stevens 2006).

The History of the Search for Race by Scientists

The first account of human races with scientific claims was introduced in 1758 by a Swedish biologist, Carolus Linnaeus, who is regarded as the founder of the modern system of biological taxonomy that categorized all living things into species. Linnaeus proposed that humans be classified into four groups: *Homo sapiens Americanus* (reddish, choleric, erect), *Homo sapiens Europeus* (white, ruddy, muscular), *Homo sapiens Asiaticus* (yellow, melancholic, inflexible), and *Homo sapiens Afer* (black, phlegmatic, indulgent) (Gould 1996; Vaughn 1995).

Eventually, anthropologists took up this work as they debated how best to think about humans and their variation across the globe. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, anthropologists attempted to identify categories and determine scientific ways to place individuals within a group. The terms we now find offensive—Mongoloid, Negroid, and Caucasian—came from this period. Each of these three was described on the basis of phenotype (what someone should look like within the category) and then it was assumed that their genotype was being expressed in their appearance. Early anthropologists entered the field with these categories, but as they came in contact with people around the world and gave further thought to the problem, they began to see that many people did not fit easily within the three categories. For example, where did Arabs in the Middle East fit? Or First Nations people in North America? Where should they place indigenous people from Australia or people from India? And where would people such as President Obama, with a white mother from North America and a black father from Kenya, fit? As the anthropologists tried to make sense of the variations and categories, the numbers of categories began to grow and the lines between them became blurrier and blurrier.

When geneticists entered the debate, their findings further called into question the categories and the lines between them. In the last half of the twentieth century, scientists, including anthropologists, decided that there is no scientific way to divide humans into any reasonable number of measurable “races.” Unless we are willing to talk about race as hundreds of thousands of gene pools with ever changing boundaries, the concept was imaginary.

Geneticists on Race among Humans

Richard Lewontin (1995) is a Harvard geneticist who has written extensively on race among humans. He identifies three problems with attempting to divide humans into a small number of genetic categories—races. The first problem is the biological arbitrariness of the categories. He notes that the distinctions made between Japanese people and Masai and Kikuyu people from East Africa illustrate this problem. The genetic differences between Japanese and the two East African groups are about the same as the genetic differences between the Masai and the Kikuyu. Although Masai and Kikuyu are neighbors, they have remained fairly removed from each other genetically. Calling Japanese people a race or part of a race, Asian, and lumping together the two East African groups into the so-called race of black does not have any genetic validity. As we will see later in this book, not only are the categories arbitrary, they are different in different places and times. Box 2.1 describes some of this variability from place to place showing the current census categories across several nations.

In addition, the categories vary over time. For example, the US census in 1860 asked people if they were white, black, or mulatto. In 1870, the categories of Chinese and Indian were added and in 1890, three other racial categories were added quadroon, octoroon, and Japanese. Hindu and Korean were separate racial categories in the 1940 census. Today, the list is long. Figure 2.1 shows the race question on the 2010 US Census. The figure shows how much the concept of race has changed in the United States since the earlier censuses.

The second problem identified by Lewontin is that because there is so much variation from one individual to the next, there is much more variation within any so-called race than there is between one race and another. For example, if you were to look at the genes of the people in the United States, the genetic differences would be overwhelmingly more pronounced *among* the people who call themselves “black” than the genetic differences between those who call themselves “black”

BOX 2.1

Census Options for Race/Ethnicity Around the World

Most nations in the world conduct periodic censuses of their populations, and almost two-thirds of these surveys (ninety-one nations) ask questions about race/ethnicity. France is an example of one of the few nations that does not ask about race or ethnicity on their census. Since at least 1978, it has been illegal in France to enumerate individuals by these without their consent or a state committee waiver. But France is the exception, and even in France people identify themselves as members of particular race/ethnicities and they place others in these categories as well.

The questions asked to distinguish among populations groups vary from each country to the next and include race, ethnicity, indigeneity, language, and nationality. Only thirteen nations specifically use the term race to describe the options and they are almost entirely in the former slaveholding societies of the Western Hemisphere and their territories. Of the thirteen countries that enumerate their citizens by the term "race," eleven are either New World former slave societies (United States, Anguilla, Bermuda, Brazil, Jamaica, Saint Lucia) and/or their territories (United States Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands) (Morning 2005). The other two nations are Federated States of Micronesia and the Solomon Islands.

The Irish census includes color, ethnicity, and national origin in its options, which asks people to identify themselves as White Irish, White Irish Traveller, Other White, Black or Black Irish (with options for African and Other Black), Asian or Asian Irish (with options for Chinese and Other Asian), Other, and Not Stated. The Solomon Islands ask about race but the options are quite different from those given in the United States. They ask "What race do you belong to: Melanesian, Polynesian, Micronesian, Chinese, European, other or mixed?" In Tuvalu, people are asked about their ethnicity: are you part Cook Island Maori, Cook Islands; Eurasian, Singapore; part Ni-Vanuatu, Vanuatu; part Tokelauan/Samoan, part

and those who call themselves "white." In fact, the variation within groups commonly thought of as races accounts for 92% of genetic variation, and only 8% of genetic variation is between the two categories (Lewontin 1995; Yoder 2014).

The third problem is that every time a child is born to parents who come from different racial categories a new genetic pool/"racial" category is formed. This kind of "mixing" has of course been part of human

Tokelauan/Tuvaluan, etc., Tokelau; part Tongan, Tonga; or part Tuvaluan? Singapore focuses on language and lists thirteen possibilities for "ethnic/dialect group": Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka (Khek), Hainanese, Malay, Boyanese, Javanese, Tamil, Filipino, Thai, Japanese, and Eurasian. Brazil offers options that are based on color: Branca; Preta; Parda; Amarela; Indigena. Romania asks about nationality: are you Romanian; Hungarian; Gypsy/Roma; German; or Other? Similarly, Hungary asks about nationality but includes different options: Bulgarian; Gipsy (Roma); Beas; Romani; Greek; Croatian; Polish; German; Armenian; Roumanian; Ruthenian; Serbian; Slovakian; Slovenian; Ukrainian; Hungarian, and "Do not wish to answer."

In the 1930s, the Nazi government in Germany asked people to identify as Jewish or not, and those who answered yes were asked what percent of Jewish ancestry they had. Only people who had three or four Jewish grandparents were automatically considered Jewish. Those who had one or two Jewish grandparents could be considered German citizens (non-Jews) if they did not practice Judaism or marry Jews (Fredrickson 2002).

The Canadian census provides options of race, ethnicity, region, nationality and distinctions among indigenous populations: Metis, North American Indian, Inuit, White, Chinese, South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.) Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Malaysian, Laotian, etc.) Arab, West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan, etc.) Korean, Japanese, Other—specify. Guatemala (twenty-two options), Argentina (seventeen options), Paraguay (seventeen options), and Laos (forty-eight options) ask about specific indigenous identities (Morning 2005).

These descriptions are only a sampling of the ways in which different governments attempt to distinguish among the people in their population. The diversity in what race/ethnicity means and what categories exist or are important to distinguish among is astounding. And the struggle to find words to describe those differences is a challenge. Although race/ethnicity as a general issue is present around the world, its meaning and the practice of making distinctions are widely variable.

history for hundreds of thousands of years. With technological advances in transportation and geopolitical changes that have intensified migration and speeded up travel, the proportion of people with ancestors from all over the world means the numbers of genetic pools and the lines between them are increasingly blurred.

Just as the anthropologists who tried to create a rational system of race by looking at phenotype, geneticists looking at genotypes have

→ **NOTE:** Please answer **BOTH** Question 8 about Hispanic origin and Question 9 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.

8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

- ☐ **No**, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- ☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- ☐ Yes, Puerto Rican
- ☐ Yes, Cuban
- ☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.* ↗

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark ☒ one or more boxes.

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black, African Am., or Negro
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ↗

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| ☐ Asian Indian | ☐ Japanese | ☐ Native Hawaiian |
| ☐ Chinese | ☐ Korean | ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro |
| ☐ Filipino | ☐ Vietnamese | ☐ Samoan |
| ☐ Other Asian — <i>Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.</i> ↗ | | ☐ Other Pacific Islander — <i>Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.</i> ↗ |

- ☐ Some other race — *Print race.* ↗

FIGURE 2.1

Race question on the 2010 U.S. Census shows how complex this social construct is and comparisons with the censuses in other countries show how variable it is from one society or time period to another.

determined that the division of humans into a few dozen races that can be scientifically measured is impossible. Race, as a biological fact, does not exist in the human species. There are no biological races among humans.

Despite the overwhelming evidence that there are no biological races among humans, the idea persists because we live in a world where race is so salient and our beliefs about their naturalness and inevitability is so powerful. Even some people who are well versed in some aspects of science, medical professionals, have mistakenly based their work on the false categories of race. Box 2.2 describes the way in which the medical community has sometimes bought into the myth of biological races and the serious consequences of their beliefs.

The Human Genome Project

A *human genome* is a complete set of DNA that contains all of the information needed to build and maintain an individual person. Every

individual has this blueprint in every gene in their body that contains a nucleus. In 1990, scientists from several countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, and China, came together on the Human Genome Project to map the human genome in order to understand this blueprint for building a human. The project was completed in 2002 when the scientists announced that they had successfully completed an accurate sequence of the three billion DNA base pairs that make up the human genome. The study concluded that humans are remarkably similar genetically, sharing 99.9% of their genes. This conclusion would seem to provide overwhelming evidence that humans are one species without racial distinctions. Instead, however, it has reopened century-old debates regarding the biological existence of race. One of the areas where this debate has occurred is in human medicine.

One of the important results of mapping the human genome is the potential for precision medicine (National Institutes of Health 2015). *Precision medicine* allows physicians and researchers to predict more accurately which treatment and prevention strategies for a particular disease will work in which individuals and groups of people. This is in contrast to a "one-size-fits-all" approach, in which treatments and prevention strategies are developed for the average person and may not be as effective or they may even be harmful for people who are not "average." For example, if you were to need a blood transfusion, medical technicians would first determine what blood type you are in order to give you matching blood. Now, this kind of tailored approach to care can go beyond factors such as blood type to the genetic level to find medicines and treatments that can help someone with your particular genes (National Institutes of Health 2015). For example, in order for a widely prescribed blood thinner, clopidogrel, to work effectively, the liver must first convert it into an active form. But 30 percent of the population in the United States carries a gene variant that compromises the liver's ability to activate the drug. People in that 30 percent group, therefore, will need to be given another drug to prevent them from having heart attacks or strokes (National Institutes of Health 2011).

The Human Genome Project has much potential for making our lives better, but it also has potential problems because the science of the genome exists in a social context of archaic, incorrect, and racist ideas (Bliss 2015; Lehrmann 2003; Nelkin and Lindee 2004). Some sociologists (Wade 2014) have combined the knowledge of the human genome with their own beliefs in race as a biologically real characteristic of

BOX 2.2

Medical Myths about Race and Illness

You may have heard that some races are genetically more likely to be predisposed to certain illnesses. But if human races are not clearly defined categories, how can it be that an illness might be more likely among people from one supposed race than another? *Sickle cell anemia*, a serious and painful disease that can cause organ damage and death, has been associated with the African “race.” The sickle cell trait can benefit humans because it is associated with being more resistant to malaria. In some individuals, malaria episodes progress to severe life-threatening disease. Having the sickle cell trait seems to protect people by causing malaria to be self-limiting, and the sickle cell trait seems to have developed in areas where malaria is prevalent (Aidoo et al. 2002). If two people with the recessive trait have a child, however, the child may develop diseases associated with sickle cell such as sickle cell anemia.

You might ask: “Why do some individuals have the sickle cell trait? Is it because of their race?” The answer is “no,” even though many people, including many medical professionals, believe that sickle cell is a disease of Africans and African Americans (Goodman 2006). The sickle cell trait is more common among people who come from gene pools around the equator in West Africa. But all the people who might identify as African Americans or Africans are not more likely than people of other so-called races to have the sickle cell trait; only those whose ancestors came from the regions where the sickle cell trait developed may have the trait. And, some people who may appear to be white and identify themselves as white, for example, might have the sickle cell trait. Sickle cell is not really more likely among any particular racial group. Rather, it is more likely among a limited number of people whose ancestors came from a particular region of the world (Marks 2006). Furthermore, sickle cell occurs in high frequencies not only in certain regions of Africa but also in high frequencies in some locations in Asia and Europe (Goodman 2006). In addition, sickle cell and these particular regions of the world

humans and then have argued that genes produce “racial” categories and natural inequalities between “races”—that people in different “races” are genetically programmed to have some skills and not others (Byrd and Hughey 2015; Cohen 2015; Orr 2014).

Humans can be grouped into various populations on the basis of genetics, and the Human Genome Project will enable us to see how

are linked because the mosquitoes there are infected with malaria, which is associated with human-made conditions involving agricultural intensification, clearing of lands, and the creation of breeding grounds for mosquitoes (Livingstone 1958).

The belief that sickle cell anemia or other diseases are linked to "race" is dangerous because it causes healthcare professionals to ignore those people who do not fit into the racial/ethnic category but do fit into the gene pool that makes them more vulnerable to certain diseases. In addition, it prevents us from seeing the social roots of medical conditions among various social groupings. Unfortunately, medical professionals often assume links between medical conditions and the social constructs of race/ethnicity. The links are based on the false premise that race is a real scientific biological distinction among humans. "Ultimately the issue in 'racialized medicine' is about diminishing the quality of healthcare through the dissemination of incompetent biology. It is thus like creationism, only with lives at stake" (Marks 2006).

Despite the overwhelming agreement among scientists that race is not a real biological distinction, the medical community persists in using race as a biological factor (Sankar and Kahn 2005). Recently for example, the pharmaceutical company NitroMed developed a drug called BiDil, which they claimed they had tailored specifically to African Americans who had heart disease. Tests were run on a sample of African Americans, and the drug was found to be highly effective. The experiment consisted of administering a placebo to some people and BiDil to others. Those who received BiDil had a 43 percent decreased mortality rate compared to those on the placebo. The company then marketed BiDil as the first race-specific drug. The Food and Drug Administration approved of it as race-specific, and even some highly respected medical journals went along with this characterization. Because the drug was tested only on people who self-identified as African American, no one bothered to find out if it was effective with people who did not self-identify as African American. In addition, no one questioned how race was being defined. Is everyone who self-identifies as African American using the same criteria for placing themselves in a particular racial category (Byrd and Hughey 2015)?

various groupings might emerge relative to various genes. But those populations do not align with any known system of race because race is a social construct that varies across time and cultures, has floating parameters and borders, and is challenged every time someone is born to parents of "different races" (Duster 2015; Fullwiley 2015; Raff 2014).

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RACE/ETHNICITY

Here comes the second part of that sentence with which this chapter began—race is nonexistent as a biological fact but one of the most fundamental social facts in our lives. If race/ethnicity is not a biological fact, where does the idea come from? In the next chapters, we will be looking at some of the specific historical social and political roots of race/ethnicity and racism. But for now, let us look at the abstract theoretical notion of *social construction* and then consider how race/ethnicity is a social construct.

In 1928, W. I. and Dorothy Thomas wrote what has come to be known as the Thomas theory: “If men define their situation as real, they are real in their consequences” (Thomas and Thomas 1928, 572). Even if race is not real in a biological sense, because people believe it to be real, it has real consequences in regard to how people relate to one another and to the kinds of social institutions they create and maintain.

Sociologists argue that humans interact with one another to create social relationships and social institutions. Together we construct our social context. Michael Schwalbe uses the example of money to illustrate how we construct our relationships with each other regarding financial issues. He writes (Schwalbe 2007, 11):

A dollar bill is just a piece of paper. Although it is nicely printed, it is not a work of art. So how can a dollar bill have value? Why should anyone trade a cup of coffee for a piece of paper? It can only be because people with coffee believe that paper money can be traded for the things they want. If people did not believe that paper money could be traded for things they want, such money would be worthless.

The power and value money derive from shared belief, nothing more. People who have lots of money have power because they can use their money to get others to work for them. If no one would trade goods and services for money, having money would bring a person no power. For money to bring power, people must create and share a belief in its value—and then they must act as if that belief were true.

In the case of race/ethnicity, we have created various ways of dividing people up on the basis primarily of appearance and ancestry and then agreed that these distinctions are real and that they indicate a

different value for people in one category or another. In the United States and many other places, this system of beliefs has created color lines that value people with lighter coloring more highly than people with darker coloring (Zinn 1980). Color lines, however, are not the only issue. The notion of race/ethnicity is tied to other factors as well. Sometimes, other physical features such as eye shape and nose shape are deemed important, for example, in the case of discrimination against Chinese people in North America. Ancestry is critical in Japanese and Indian caste systems as we will learn in Chapters 5 and 7.

Constructing race/ethnicity and racism is not just a matter of individuals interacting with each other and acting on their ideas. Race/ethnicity and racism are also embedded in social institutions (Omi and Winant 2014). The social construction of race/ethnicity in the United States has been outlined by Howard Zinn (1980), who argues that social institutions have been constructed in a way that draws a color line between Americans. Beginning with the establishment of the United States as a nation and the creation of the documents such as the Constitution by men who were nearly all slave owners, the country has a long history of creating a gap between whites and people of color. Initially, the line was drawn between the First Nations people and European immigrants and white slave owners and black people they bought or brought from Africa to work as their slaves. Over the centuries, the lines have varied, and the divisions have multiplied. Today in America, racial/ethnic inequality continues to be built into social institutions such as the legal system, banks, the workplace, neighborhoods, schools, and the government. This is called the *institutionalization of race/ethnicity and racism*.

Let us look at some examples of institutionalized racism. The US government is supposed to be a democratically elected body that represents all American citizens equally regardless of race/ethnicity—one person, one vote. But the US Senate gives equal power to each of the fifty states, allowing them two senators apiece. Small states with small populations, therefore, have much more power than would be reflected in a truly democratic system. For example, Texas has two senators and so does Utah. Texas has a total population of 26.9 million, of which 45 percent are white. Utah has a total population of 2.9 million, of which 88 percent are white. Both states send two senators to Washington to represent their populations. Because of historical events, segregated housing, and a host of other factors, the governmental system for organizing political institutions such as the US Senate gives unequal power

to people in small states. It also gives unequal power to white Americans. The greater power given to the predominately white state of Utah is neither the result of individual prejudice or discrimination nor is it necessarily intentional. It is institutionalized racism that preserves greater power in the hands of the dominant racial/ethnic group.

Another example of institutionalized racism in the United States is the way in which many public schools are funded. Most of the money provided to public schools comes from state and local taxes. Much of the local funding comes from property taxes. This means that those school districts that have higher property values and higher property taxes receive the largest budgets. Because housing is highly segregated in the United States, and because black and brown people tend to have lower incomes and therefore live in less expensive housing, schools in those neighborhoods are likely to receive less funding for public schools than schools in more affluent, often white neighborhoods.

In both of these examples, race/ethnicity and racism are built into social institutions. In the first case, they are built into the political system, and in the second they are built into the education system. In both cases, one could argue that the racial/ethnic discrepancy is not intentional. No one purposefully designed a system that resulted in people of color having less access to political power or to education. But the structure of the social institutions and their relationships to other social institutions, such as housing patterns and wages, results in serious racial/ethnic injustice. Addressing the problem is a challenge because it will require massive institutional change.

Race/ethnicity is socially constructed in our interpersonal relationships as well as our social institutions. In addition, these relationships and social institutions are often constructed with a purpose. That is, race/ethnicity as a social construct is not inevitable and it is not benign. It is a political tool that allows some people to dominate others. Michael Omi and Howard Winant write that *racial formations* are "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (Omi and Winant 2014, 53). Racial/ethnic ideologies, ideas about what race/ethnicities exist and how they compare with each other, as well as racialized social institutions are products of social relationships that are unequal. They are sites of struggle and are dominated by those who have the most power in those relationships. Sometimes these racial/ethnic formations are maintained by coercion and force—racial/ethnic dictatorships—in which violence is the key factor. Sometimes they are maintained by hegemony.

Antonio Gramsci (1971) argues that consent can play a central role in the maintenance of racial/ethnic formations. He refers to this as *hegemony* and argues that “in order to consolidate their hegemony, ruling groups must elaborate and maintain a popular system of ideas and practices—through education, the media, religion, folk wisdom, etc.—which he called ‘common sense’” (Omi and Winant 2014, 63). Omi and Winant (2014) argue that consent—*hegemony*—has become the dominant tool for maintaining racial/ethnic formations. But coercion and force are always present as well.

What Is the Difference Between Race and Ethnicity?

Many scholars distinguish between race and ethnicity. This distinction reflects the long-standing belief that race reflects biological difference and ethnicity stems from cultural difference: ethnicity is socially produced but race is an immutable facet of nature. Frederickson writes that “race can be described as what happens when ethnicity is deemed essential or indelible and made hierarchical” (2002, 155). In other words, ethnicity—a sharing of ancestry, language, and culture—precedes race. Some groups of people who share a history are then identified as a separate biological category—a race. Jewish people in Nazi Germany would be an example of this. Jews shared a culture, a language, a history, and a religion. The Nazi government created laws, as we will see in Chapter 7, that identified Jews as a separate, and inferior, biological race.

On the other hand, African Americans represent another way of thinking about ethnicity and race. African Americans did not share a language, culture, or ancestry when they were brought to the United States. People who were kidnapped and taken to the United States by the transatlantic slave trade did not think of themselves as blacks, Negroes, or Africans when they lived in the various kingdoms and communities of West Africa before the advent of the slave trade. They were, as we will explore in the next chapter, however, identified by colonial powers and slave holders as a race—a separate and inferior biological group. Eventually, because of the nearly universal experience of slavery and forced segregation and because their original languages, cultural practices and heritage were largely obliterated by the brutality of slavery, African Americans formed a shared culture and language—they became an ethnic group (Frederickson 2002).

Grappling with the idea that race and ethnicity are different may be especially characteristic of scholars in the United States because this distinction is so powerful in that country. The United States is the only

nation in the world that explicitly distinguishes between race and ethnicity in its census documents. But the distinctions made between race and ethnicity in the US census are not rational and they are ever-changing. For example, one of the interesting aspects of the choices in the 2010 US Census document shown in Figure 2.1 is that the distinction between Japanese and Chinese is presented as a racial difference whereas the distinction between Mexican and Cuban or Puerto Rican is not. In addition, the distinction between white (and all of the other racial groups) and Hispanic people is not considered a racial distinction.

Distinguishing between race and ethnicity as the US census attempts to do is irrational and difficult to understand. Most importantly, however, it reinforces essentialist interpretations of race/ethnicity even though, as we have seen in this chapter, the scientific community overwhelmingly agrees that race is not a biological fact but a social factor (Morning 2005).

In this text, rather than trying to define race/ethnicity and racism as concepts that can be understood in the same way in all times, places, and contexts, we will problematize the concept of race/ethnicity by considering how it varies across these dimensions and how race/ethnicity is conceptualized, in a variety of ways including color, ethnicity, caste, and even language and nationality. Finding a word to capture this kind of variability is a challenge. As you have read in these first two chapters, I use the term *race ethnicity* to avoid the biological connection and to keep us focused on the social construction of "race." Furthermore, I rely on the United Nations Office of the High Commission on Human Rights to define racial discrimination, which states: "In this Convention [International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination], the term 'racial discrimination' shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life" (United Nations 1969).

WHAT LIES BENEATH?

In the next chapter, we will look at the key factors that created the emergence of the concept of race and the practice of racism: colonialism and slavery. But racism and racial/ethnic discrimination persist today,

whereas (classical) colonialism and slavery (at least the enormous international slave trade that existed in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries) are relatively unusual. Today we have the progeny of these practices in a globalized world in the form of *neocolonialism*, which exploits and oppresses whole nations through global debt, privatization, and austerity programs.

Race/ethnicity and racial injustice are embedded in a global system (Winant 2000). *Globalization* refers to the integration of the world's economies, political systems, informational networks, and ecology into one large global system (Lenz 2003). This integration touches everyone's life in ways we might not often consider. Think about what you ate for breakfast today. You may have started with a glass of orange juice from Mexico. Then you may have had bread from wheat grown in Canada prepared in a toaster made in China from steel produced in Russia in an oven fueled by energy from Nigeria. The integration of the production and distribution of goods from many different places in the world is a sure sign of globalization. Economic globalization underlies all the issues we will explore in this book.

Globalization has some benefits, because it means consumers have access to goods from every corner of the world. Globalization also often produces goods more cheaply and potentially allows more people access to those goods. Globalization has huge downsides as well, however, especially for those who live in nations that are referred to as "developing" nations (Berberoglu 2003).

The United Nations identifies 128 nations in Africa, Latin America, and Asia as "developing." The "least developed" of these include countries such as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Niger, Rwanda, Haiti, and Yemen, which face extreme poverty and most of whose citizens lead difficult lives. Because most of these nations are in the Southern Hemisphere and the richest nations are largely in the Northern Hemisphere, the terms *global South* and *global North* have come to indicate the gap between countries.

The division of the world into the North and South, the "haves" and the "have nots," itself falls into racial/ethnic patterns. The nations that are part of the global North in North America and Europe are white. Not everyone, of course, is white, but the regions are largely controlled by white people. The nations that in fact are literally in the south of the globe (assuming the globe has a top and bottom), Australia and New Zealand, are dominated by white people but they are often considered part of the "honorary" global North. The regions and nations that are

considered the global South are dominated by people of color in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

Debtor nations are largely in the global South and the social institutions that control those debts and benefit from them are dominated by nations in the global North. For example, between 1985 and 2012, nations in the Middle East and Africa repaid \$105 billion, which was \$61 billion more than they received (\$44 billion) in loans over the same period (Gottiniaux et al. 2015). Yes, these numbers are correct. The difference, of course, is a result of interest. When borrowers take a loan, they agree to pay back the amount they borrowed *plus* the interest accrued—the “price” they pay for getting the loan. The relationship between debtor nations and wealthy nations or the institutions they control, such as the World Bank, creates a situation in which more money is transferred from poor countries to rich countries than vice versa (Gottiniaux et al. 2015; Makwana 2006).

To continue to pay back the interest as well as the original loans, nations are forced to create *Structural Adjustment Programs* (SAPs) and *Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers* (PRSPs). SAPs and PRSPs are policies that reduce government spending in poor nations, cutting programs in education, health care, transportation, and other government-funded projects in order to accumulate money to pay back the interest on loans. SAPs and PRSPs harm the debtor nations and their citizens (Blumberg 1995; Henley 2013; Mason 2006; Stiglitz 2002).

On the other hand, the *World Bank* benefits from the programs because it means the debt and the accruing interest will be returned to its coffers. The World Bank is part of the United Nations and includes most nations on its board. The formula for determining how decisions are made is complex. Voting power on the board, however, is largely based on the member nation's capital subscriptions, which means the members with the greatest financial contributions have the greatest say in the World Bank's decision-making process. The board is controlled primarily by the United States and nations in western Europe, and Japan, although China recently has been given stronger voting status. The US government is in the strongest position, having 16 percent of the vote, whereas the forty-seven sub-Saharan African countries, for example, have only 7 percent of votes among them (Gottiniaux et al. 2015). In addition, since 1946, when the World Bank was established, it has had twelve presidents, all of whom are American citizens (World Bank 2015a, 2015b).

The Economics of Capitalism

The banking industry and international finance institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are not the only vehicles for creating and maintaining global inequality. The economic system of capitalism itself causes more money to be sent to wealthier nations from poorer ones than vice versa. This occurs through investment and profit-taking in manufacturing, mining, and agriculture by multinational corporations that are based in the global North but maintain operations in the global South.

Table 2.1 shows the financial flows between the global North and global South. The table shows that money comes from the North and flows to the South in the form of official development assistance, which amounted to US\$133 billion and from migrant remittances of US\$350 billion in 2012. *Official development assistance* is money that is sent from wealthier countries to poorer ones with the intention of helping to alleviate poverty and aid in creating projects that, for example, improve infrastructure in order to facilitate development. The word *official* is used to warn us that this number may not be the actual amount of aid that gets to the country being assisted because funds often remain in the donor country to cover expenses such as administrative costs. *Migrant remittance* refers to money that people who have immigrated to wealthier countries to work send home to their families (Gottiniaux et al. 2015).

Money flows from the global South in the form of foreign debt service, which amounted to US\$182 billion in 2012, and from the repatriation of profits of multinational corporations, which amounted to

TABLE 2.1

2012 Financial Flows for Developing Countries

Money from global North to global South in billions (total: \$483)
Official development assistance US\$133
Migrants' remittances US\$350
Money from global South to global North in billions (total: \$860)
Public foreign debt service US\$182
Multinationals' repatriated profits US\$678
Summary balance US\$(-)377

Source: Gottiniaux, Pierre, Daniel Munevar, Antonio Sanabria, and Éric Toussaint. 2015. "World Debt." Liege, Belgique: Committee for the Abolition of Third World Debt (CADTM) http://cadtm.org/IMG/pdf/DEBT_FIGURES_2015.pdf.

US\$678 billion in the same year. *Foreign debt service* refers to the interest and other fees paid on debts that we reviewed above and totaled US\$182. The corporations' *repatriated profits* refers to the profits made by the corporations when, for example, they open a plant in a developing country. The multinational corporation must pay for the materials and the labor as well as the plant itself. But when the goods are sold, a profit is generated above those costs. This profit is returned to the corporation and its stockholders, who are based in wealthier nations. This was US\$678 in 2012. When all of these factors are taken into account, US\$377 billion more moved North than moved South in 2012 (Gottiniaux et al. 2015).

Alexander Titus (1996) refers to this arrangement of global financing as *global apartheid*, drawing on the similarities he sees between the apartheid government that ran South Africa until 1994 and the current dominance of wealthy white nations over poorer, less powerful nations of color. Throughout the book, we will be considering the question of race/ethnicity and racism in the context of global apartheid. How might the impoverishment of debtor nations increase the levels of racial/ethnic discrimination in those nations? Can the cleavages among racial ethnic groups be used as a way to divide and conquer labor movements, for example? Can structural adjustment programs decrease the possibility of improving the lives of and making more equal the racial/ethnic groups in the global South?

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

DNA; phenotype; sickle cell; Human Genome Project; social construction; institutionalized racism; social formations; hegemony; ethnicity; race/ethnicity; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; neocolonialism; globalization; debtor nations; structural adjustment programs; World Bank; official development assistance; migrant remittances; foreign debt; repatriated profits; global apartheid

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. In your own words, explain Lewontin's rationale for arguing that human races are a myth.
2. Find a photograph on the Internet of the latest meeting of the most powerful people in the world at the G20 summit. What nations are

represented? What race/ethnicities? What genders? How do your observations fit the phrase “global apartheid?”

3. Go through the lists of census categories in Box 2.1 Where do you fit in the various categories for each country? Try this with some of your friends from different race/ethnicities.
4. At the end of the chapter, three questions are asked about how the global political economic context might shape racial/ethnic relations. How would you answer them?

3



COLONIAL ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT OF RACE/ETHNICITY: SLAVERY AND TRIBALISM

FIGURE 3.0
Door of No Return in Ghana was the exit from the Elmina Castle from which millions of African people were shipped to work as slaves all over the world, but especially in the Western Hemisphere. (AP Photo/CP, Fred Chartrand)

A few years ago, I visited the World Heritage Site that includes the Slave Castles in Ghana. These structures were built in the sixteenth century by European slave traders, and they look like castles you might see in Britain or Germany. Made of large cinderblock-sized stones with iron gates and grates on the windows, the castles were built to imprison people who had been kidnapped from further inland and brought to await being packed on ships. The ships would take them to various parts of the world, especially to the Western Hemisphere as part of the transatlantic slave trade to be sold and worked to death in the mines and fields. A young Ghanaian man showed us around the castle and explained the horrific treatment of the people who were to be enslaved.

The castles are perched on the edge of the beach, and the door leading outside to the water has a sign “*door of no return*.” Most of the people who went through the passage did not make it to their destination, and none would ever return to their homes in West Africa. Outside the castles along the beach, I could see wooden dugout boats used by the local fishermen today as well as the shacks and polluted streams going into the ocean alongside the castles. Although the slave trade ended centuries ago, the devastation created by the transatlantic slave trade and the subsequent racist treatment of the peoples of West Africa remains. The legacy of slavery is racism, and it still has not disappeared.

Ghana, however, not only represents an important place in the slave trade. It was also a subject state of the colonial British power that created the idea of different tribes in Ghana as a tool for controlling

the people who lived there (Lentz 2000). Ghana, therefore, was a birth-place of race and racism both on a global scale through the slave trade and on a more local scale in the intertribal tensions that exist in this previously colonized nation. The legacy of slavery, colonialism, and tribalism continue today in global relations between African nations and northern global powers in the contemporary race for Africa (Hallinan 2011).

For much of the world, race/ethnicity and racism are historically rooted in contact between Europeans and white Americans and people in the rest of the world, especially in Africa with the development of the slave trade and colonialism (Smedley 1997). This chapter reviews the character of colonialism, the global slave trade, and connections between the practice of slavery and the ideas of race and racism. We begin by looking at the development of the transatlantic slave trade alongside the concept of race, the attempts to quantify the slavery, the political economy of the slave trade, and the role of the American Revolution in preserving slavery. Some of the lingering issues of this history such as the continued enslavement of people today and the debate over how to remember the history are addressed. The resistance movement against slavery, with a focus on marrons in Haiti and women in the United States, is the next topic. The final section of the chapter turns to the concept of tribalism and the splintering of Africa into nations and so-called tribes by the colonial powers.

WHERE DID THE IDEA OF RACE COME FROM?

In Chapter 2, we learned that race does not exist as a biological fact among humans. Race, however, is an exceptionally important social fact. It is a powerful system that influences and permeates everyone's daily life and is a central organizing feature of contemporary society. But where did it come from? If race is not something that was born into the species, when did it emerge as an idea, a practice, and a social institution?

The idea of race emerged about the same time that the Europeans began to make contact on a large scale with people on other continents. It did not really take hold, however, until the development of the transatlantic slave trade, and it did not become entrenched as a pseudoscientific concept until the slave trade became a contested enterprise (Smedley 1997). Later in this book, we will consider the caste system,

which developed in ancient India long before the transatlantic slave trade, and how castes are related to ideas and practices regarding race/ethnicity. The first usage of the idea of race in the Western world, however, is closely associated with the early development of slavery during the colonization by Europe of the rest of the world, and especially Africa, in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries.

Colonialism is the establishment of political, economic, and cultural control by one country over another; this usually involves occupying the country and exploiting it economically. Colonialism emerged in the 1500s when powerful European states, especially England, France, and Spain began to transform weaker nations into internal satellites in Europe and in parts of the Western Hemisphere, Africa, and Asia into external economic satellites (Rodney 1973). This process continued into the twentieth century, and some areas are still under direct colonial rule today. Edward Said (1993, 8) explains:

Consider that in 1800 Western powers claimed 55 percent but actually held approximately 35 percent of the earth's surface, and that by 1874 the proportion was 67 percent, a rate of increase of 83,000 square miles per year. By 1914, the annual rate had risen to an astonishing 240,000 square miles [per year], and Europe held a grand total of roughly 85 percent of the earth as colonies, protectorates, dependencies, dominions, and commonwealths. No other associated set of colonies in history was as large, none so totally dominated, none so unequal in power to the Western metropolis.

Some of the colonists settled on the lands claimed by the colonial powers as small farmers. Others established large plantations for producing commercial products such as sugar and cotton, which required a huge labor force and eventually developed into racialized systems of slavery. In order to protect their interests, colonial powers set up systems of government to which everyone, indigenous people in the area as well as colonial settlers, had to submit (Zuberi 2001).

Although early European explorers noted the varieties of human bodies and cultures in their travels, initially they did not think of the people they met as a different race nor did they see them as inferior. For example, the image of Africans was generally positive. The Africans the Europeans met were farmers and cattle breeders, and their communities had industries, arts and crafts, governments, and commerce. In

addition, many Africans had immunities to Old World diseases that Europeans lacked. The idea that people who looked different were a different kind of human—an inferior race—began and grew up alongside the business of capturing and selling people into slavery. As the slave trade expanded and became more pervasive, lucrative, and complex, the ideology of race and the practice of racism also became more widespread and sophisticated. Scholars, politicians, and everyday people increasingly developed ever more complicated ideas and arguments justifying slavery by asserting that those who been enslaved were not quite human but represented a lesser race. The ideology of race developed as a way to try to legitimize the slave trade.

At the same time, the terms *white people* or *white race* paralleled this development, and a variety of European ethnic populations were collapsed into a single “race” (Huxley & Haddon 1935). The term *white people* seems to have first appeared in the late 1600s in American law, for example. But conscious recognition of white as a racial category has only relatively recently been explored by social scientists (Allen 2012). Before the 1960s, whites were assumed to be those people without a race—they were just humans, while everyone else was of a particular racial group. In the 1980s, social scientists began to increasingly discuss the construction of the white race and in particular the privileges that were largely invisible but central features of that construction (McIntosh 1988; Rothenberg 2011). In Chapter 1 we examined some of the privileges members of the white race enjoy in the United States.

Justifying Slavery

How could good, intelligent Christian people (which was the way Europeans perceived themselves) justify the capture and enslavement of other humans? How could these Europeans defend the brutal treatment of enslaved people—the forced breeding, the separation of children and parents, and the severe working conditions (working them to death)? In 1522, the Pope declared that good Christian people, in fact, could not justify slavery, and the Church banned enslaving enemies, even when captured in just wars. In order to get around the ban and continue the increasingly lucrative slave trade, Spanish and Portuguese monarchs claimed people from southern Africa were subhuman—not really human and instead more like the other livestock they owned.

In order to rationalize the slave system, a set of ideas was needed that:

- Separated people who had been enslaved from “real humans”
- Established the superiority of slave owners (and others who were of the same “race”) over those who had been enslaved
- Defended the harsh treatment and the enslavement itself as part of a natural and orderly system of humans caring for/managing their fellow creatures

Initially, defenders of the slave system argued that enslaved people were not Christians and that the slave system was a way to civilize and introduce Christianity to those people whom the slave traders had captured. Slave owners and slave traders argued it was their Christian duty to save the souls of the “heathens” they found in Africa (Smedley 1997).

When the people who had been enslaved began to adopt the Christian religion of their owners, slave owners had to create even stronger arguments to justify the system. The idea of race and racial hierarchies began to emerge. Focusing on specific differences between Europeans and Africans in physical appearance, defenders of slavery turned to the notion of the supposed natural inferiority of Africans and thus their God-given suitability for slavery. Thomas Jefferson, the owner of a large number of enslaved people, for example, wrote: “Blacks, whether originally a distinct race or made distinct by time and circumstances are inferior to whites in endowments in both the body and mind” (1785, 270). Jefferson was somewhat “ahead” of his time in this opinion. But the idea of race and notion that black people were inferior steadily grew.

The racialization of the slave system increased during the last few decades of the eighteenth century and into the first half of the nineteenth century, and the characterizations of Africans became more negative (Smedley 1997). These ideas intensified as the abolitionist movement grew and the slave trade began to come under criticism. Slave owners and traders defended themselves by creating stronger and stronger justifications of the industry. Eventually, they developed the idea of the Great Chain of Being or Scale of Nature (*Scala Naturae*), a pseudo-scientific theory of a natural hierarchy of everything derived from classical Greek writings. The Great Chain classified creation from inanimate objects; through animals, women, and men; to God. The lowest-ranked humans were closer to other animals, and the highest-ranked men were

closest to God (Zuberi 2001). "The physical features of different groups became markers or symbols of their status on this scale, and thus justified their positions within the social system. Race ideology proclaimed that the social, spiritual, moral, and intellectual inequality of different groups was, like their physical traits, natural, innate, inherited, and unalterable" (Smedley 1997, 1). This theory was especially powerful because it made "race" an autonomous new mechanism of social differentiation that transcended the slave condition. Therefore, the idea and the practices surrounding the concept of race were able to persist as a form of social identity long after slavery ended (Smedley 1997).

In addition, the idea that humans could be categorized in a hierarchy that made some people truly human (whites) and others below them and not really quite human (blacks) was institutionalized—built into political institutions supporting slavery. For example, the US Constitution was written in a way that identified black slaves as three-fifths of a person. Furthermore, legal decisions such as the *Dred Scott* case established that because slaves were fundamentally property rather than fundamentally human (they were only three-fifths of a human), the property rights of slave holders must take precedence over the human rights of enslaved people.

In 1857, Dred Scott, an African American who had been enslaved in the United States, went to court to sue for his freedom because he had been living for four years in Missouri, where slavery was illegal. The US Supreme Court decided against Scott (vote of 7 to 2), arguing that no one of African ancestry could claim citizenship in the United States; therefore Scott could not bring suit in federal court. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney stated, "Negroes were seen only as property; they were never thought of or spoken of except as property" and "(thus) were not intended by the framers of the Constitution to be accorded citizenship rights" (quoted in Smedley 1997, 52). The court ruled that Scott's owner's property rights would be improperly deprived if Scott was granted his freedom.

You should recognize three important lessons in this history.

- Race was invented to defend slavery. It was not invented to explain physical differences among various human groups. Rather, physical differences were seized on as a rationale for justifying the enslavement of some people. When Europeans met people who did not look like them in some ways, they did not say "these people look different. Let's begin to trade them as slaves." Instead, the Europeans (1) began to capture and sell people to work as

slaves, (2) sought a way to justify their behavior, and (3) began to develop the idea that people who had been enslaved looked different and therefore were naturally destined to become slaves.

- It took a long time for the idea of race to develop. Racist ideologies did not develop rapidly. It took centuries for the idea to develop that humans come in races and that some races are more “human” than others.
- When the institution of slavery came under criticism and began to be legally abolished, those people who wanted to continue the slave system stepped up their defense by increasingly solidifying the ideas and attempting to legitimize them through supposedly scientific explanations.

Transatlantic Slave Trade

It is difficult to describe the significance of the slave trade in human history. The *transatlantic slave trade* lasted almost 400 years. The first slave ships to enter North America arrived in Haiti in 1502. Legal importation of slaves ended in 1807, but the last ship to smuggle in imported slaves to the United States landed in Mobile, Alabama, in 1859. Legal slavery continued to exist in United States until the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and the end of the Civil War in 1865.

There is much debate about the number of people who were kidnapped from Africa and sent to work as slaves (Rodney 1973). The minimum number currently believed to be accurate is about 12 million people. About half of those people kidnapped by slave traders made it alive to destinations to work as slaves. The other half died on the forced march from their home to the coast or during the passage over the ocean (Eltis and Richardson 2010). The most comprehensive analysis of shipping records over the course of the slave trade is the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, edited by David Eltis and David Richardson (2010). These researchers maintain that 12.5 million Africans were shipped to the New World and 10.7 million survived the dreaded Middle Passage. About 450,000 were brought to United States, but most were shipped directly to the Caribbean and South America. Fifteen times as many Africans were taken as slaves to Portuguese and Spanish America as to the United States (Eltis 2011). Brazil, for example, received 4.86 million Africans (Gates 2011).

Elmina Castle and Dungeon is one of several buildings remaining on the coast of West Africa through which people who had been kidnapped in inland areas were kept before they were placed on ships to be

sent to the Western Hemisphere. The castle held luxury suites for the slave traders upstairs while the captives were kept in crowded and filthy dungeons. In the eighteenth century, 30,000 people a year passed through the dungeons and the “door of no return.” Box 3.1 describes the current debate in Ghana around how this history should be told and what should be done with the castle and dungeons.

Walter Rodney (1973) has argued that the numbers of people taken from Africa during the slave trade were so enormous that they

BOX 3.1

Contested Heritage: African and African American Perspectives on the Elmina Castle and Dungeon

The historic castles of Elmina and Cape Coast in Ghana were used as staging areas for the mid-Atlantic slave trade. Elmina Castle, constructed in 1482 by the Portuguese is one of the great medieval castles and was the first major European building in tropical Africa (van Dantzig 1980). It is now a World Heritage Site and an important tourist destination on the continent.

Who owns Elmina Castle? The diaspora Africans whose ancestors left as slaves, the Elmina citizens and the traditional chiefs who remained in place, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and other international aid agencies who support the restoration and provide the interpretive perspective, or the tourists from all racial/ethnic groups and nations to whom the castle has now been dedicated? And who shall tell the story of the 500-year history of the castle and dungeons? While all of these groups are engaged in debate around these questions, two voices stand out as perhaps as most morally justified in their claim and most in contrast with each other: African American tourists returning to the “door of no return” and Ghanaians, especially those who live and work in Elmina (Bruner 1996).

The African *diaspora* refers to people who now live all over the world but whose ancestors came from Africa. A very large proportion of the African diaspora are descendants of the people who were taken as slaves from Africa during the transatlantic slave trade. Many African Americans (while on tour in Ghana) express a black essentialist perspective on the castles and dungeons. Their view is that although some black people live on the African continent while others live in the diaspora they are all one people, one Africa. *Black essentialism* focuses on a common origin, on an essential unity among all black people, and on historical continuity. This view is a powerful one but it is flawed because it erases hundreds of

disrupted population growth in the African continent, which suppressed economic development and the political ability to resist the economic and political exploitation of European colonial powers. The numbers in Table 3.1 show the stagnation of population growth in Africa compared to the growth experienced in the rest of the world in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. The table indicates that the world population grew from 791,000,000 to 1,262,000,000 between 1750 and 1850, which means that the world

years of separate experience between people who now live in the United States and those who live in Ghana (Bruner 1996).

Many Ghanaians do not share an essentialist view of blackness. They, of course, can see the similarity in skin color and ancestry. However, for them, these are not the most important factors in their criteria for sorting out the human beings they meet. They perceive returning African Americans primarily as foreigners, as Americans, as wealthy, and as tourists. For example, Ghanaians refer to Europeans, Americans, and Asians, regardless of skin color or ancestry, as *obruni*, which means someone from beyond the horizon in the Akan Twi language (the most common language spoken in Ghana) (Bruner 1996).

For many African Americans, the castles are sacred ground, not to be desecrated. They do not want the castles to be made beautiful or to be whitewashed. Nor do they want restaurants for tourists in the castle grounds (Report 1994). And they want the original stench to remain in the dungeons where slaves were held. Cramped and filthy, each cell housed as many as 200 people at a time, without enough space to even lie down. The floor of the dungeon is now several inches higher than it was when it was built, as a result of centuries of impacted filth and human excrement (Public Broadcasting Service n.d.). Outbreaks of malaria and yellow fever were common. African Americans want the castles to be presented as they see them—a cemetery for the enslaved people who died in the dungeons' inhuman conditions while waiting for the ships to transport them to the Americas (Osie-Tutu 2009).

Although Ghanaians are fully aware of the horrific history of the transatlantic slave trade and support the need to preserve that history and educate the world about it, they also want tourism and the castles to provide resources for economic development today. This includes employment, new sources of income, better sanitation and waste disposal, improved roads, and new harbors (Essah 2001). Ghanaian authorities are seeking increased national revenue through the restoration and commodification of Cape Coast and Elmina castles (Osie-Tutu 2009). They want the castles restored, with good lighting and heating, so they will be attractive to tourists.

TABLE 3.1

Population of the World by Major Area

A. World Population (millions), 1750 to 1999

YEAR	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950	1999
World	791	978	1,262	1,650	2,521	5,978
Africa	106	107	111	133	221	767
Asia	502	635	809	947	1,402	3,634
Europe	163	203	276	408	547	729
Latin America and the Caribbean	16	24	38	74	167	511
Northern America	2	7	26	82	172	307
Oceania	2	2	2	6	13	30

B. World Population (percentage distribution)

YEAR	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950	1999
World	100	100	100	100	100	100
Africa	13.4	10.9	8.8	8.1	8.8	12.8
Asia	63.5	64.9	64.1	57.4	55.6	60.8
Europe	20.6	20.8	21.9	24.7	21.7	12.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	2.0	2.5	3.0	4.5	6.6	8.5
Northern America	0.3	0.7	2.1	5.0	6.8	5.1
Oceania	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5

Source: United Nations, Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, *The World at Six Billion*. (ESA/P/WP.154), October 12, 1999.

population increased by 60% during this time. In contrast, in Africa, the population grew from 106,000,000 to 111,000,000, which is only a 5% increase. In 1750, Africans constituted 13.4% of the total world population, but by 1850, they made up only 8.8% of the total population.

Some scholars have coined the term *Maafa* (African Holocaust) to describe the history and continuing effects of atrocities inflicted on African people from the slave trade to the imperialism, colonialism, and globalization, and neocolonialism we reviewed in the previous chapter. Scholars who have studied these issues "use the term holocaust to mean a morally monstrous act of genocide that is not only against the people themselves, but also a crime against humanity. The Holocaust of enslavement expresses itself in three ways: the morally monstrous destruction of human life, human culture, and human possibility" (Karenga 2001, 1).

At the same time the development of the slave trade exploited and oppressed the people who were enslaved and devastated communities and regions from which they were kidnapped, it enriched those people and nations who owned slaves and used their labor. In other words, although slavery was a crime against humanity, some humans obtained massive benefits from the system. The plantation economy of the United States, for example, was enormously wealthy, and the production by slave laborers created a large proportion of the total economic output of the entire nation. In the mid-1800s, 5.4 million bales of cotton a years were produced by enslaved labor in Southern plantations, accounting for 75% of the total US exports at that time (Keller 1985). Furthermore, because enslaved people were bought and sold as investments, the ownership of the enslaved people themselves accounted for a huge amount of money.

In the United States at the time of the Civil War, enslaved people were valued at the equivalent of about \$130,000 a piece in twenty-first century dollars. Their value was high because it did not just measure a person; it measured the labor that an enslaved person produced over a lifetime. The total value of slaves at the close of the Civil War is estimated to be about \$10 trillion in 2011 dollars. To give you a sense of what this number means, it is about 70% of the total gross domestic product in the United States today (Williamson and Cain 2015).

It is not surprising that this huge and enormously wealthy international system of slavery created a complex and powerful set of ideas to defend and legitimize it. That ideology was founded on the idea that humans can be divided into biological groups called races and that some of those so-called races are destined to own others, to exploit their labor, and to enrich themselves in the process.

RESISTANCE TO SLAVERY

Joe Feagin writes that "*Systemic racism* [italics added] includes the complex array of antiblack practices, the unjustly gained political-economic power of whites, the continuing economic and other resource inequalities along racial lines, and the white racist ideologies and attitudes created to maintain and rationalize white privilege and power. Systemic here means that the core racist realities are manifested in each of society's major parts" (Feagin 2000, 6). Slave-owning societies present one of the clearest examples of systemic racism. Feagin also argues that resistance to racism is a core feature of systemic racism, and such was the case of the slave system.

From about 1470 to 1800, Africans fought against and resisted slavery in their homeland, on the seas, and in the mines and plantations to which they were brought to work. There was continuous resistance against Europeans during every phase of the slave trade. African leaders and those opposing the European slave trade organized large groups to keep watch for slave ships whose crews were well known for kidnapping Africans on the coast. For example, King Ansah of Ghana (1470–1486) organized Fante people to watch for European ships and prevent them from coming ashore. Africans in Benin, knowing the intentions of the Europeans, killed them as soon as they came ashore (Barry 1998).

Despite the enormous brutality of the slave system, or perhaps because of it, people who had been enslaved persisted in constant resistance against the system by running away, poisoning slave owners, sabotaging equipment, killing livestock, and carrying out armed insurrections. Haiti was the first nation to abolish slavery, and this action was largely the result of civil war led by enslaved people against the Haitian plantation owners. By the mid-eighteenth century, thousands of fugitive slaves had fled into the mountains. Known as *marrons* (*maroons* is a French word for a domesticated animal run wild), they formed their own fortified settlements from which they conducted raids on plantations, kept African cultural traditions alive, and helped train leaders for an eventual insurrection. The slave revolt began in 1791 and ended with the defeat of the French colonialists in 1803 and the establishment of Haiti as an independent nation in 1804 (Reding 2004).

The success of the Haitian revolution is significant. The most powerful nations in the world, including the United States, refused to recognize Haiti's independence during the country's revolution because they feared that this would encourage insurrections among enslaved people around the world. The Haitian model certainly served as an inspiration for abolitionists and enslaved people seeking an overthrow of the slave system (Ferrer 2014). Some scholars argue furthermore that the Haitian revolution may have lent concrete support to antislavery actions by sending people to other slaveholding nations to help foment and lead insurrections against slavery (Geggus 2014; Girard 2010).

During this same period, another war was taking place next door to Haiti in the United States. Gerald Horne (2014) argues that what is better known as the American Revolution, the war that began in 1776, was actually a counterrevolution, at least in part. Americans learn that the American Revolution was a progressive step forward for humanity. Horne maintains, however, that the American Revolution was a

reactionary effort by the leaders of the United States to protect their system of slavery. Although 1776 represented a step forward with regard to the triumph over monarchy, the American revolutionaries went on to establish in its place what Horne (2014) refers to as the first apartheid state. He asserts that men such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and nearly all of America's Founding Fathers were not reluctant slave owners who regretted their trade in human chattel. Rather, they were willing slave owners who were rebelling against the threat that the British might move to abolish their property. Their property, of course, was the people they enslaved (Pearson 2014). In 1722, British courts ruled that slavery was unlawful in Britain, and in 1833, Britain also abolished slavery in its colonies (Blumrosen and Blumrosen 2005; Horne 2014). If the United States had remained a British colony, legal slavery would have ended several decades before the American Civil War. Africans living in the United States apparently were aware of the proslavery politics of the American Revolution as more fought on the side of the British than alongside the American settlers (Horne 2014).

Despite the success of the Haitian revolution in overthrowing the colonial power of France and the abolishment of slavery as a legal system, the struggle of Haitians to emancipate themselves from colonialism and slavery has been and continues to be a difficult process. The United States and other powerful nations did not recognize Haiti's independence because they feared that the success of the Haitian revolution would encourage slave insurrections in the United States and other countries where slavery was legal (Geggus 2014; Girard 2010). In addition, although the Haitians won the military battle of their revolution, the Haitian people were forced to pay French former slave owners reparations of 150 million francs for the loss of their property—slaves. It took Haiti until 1947 to pay off its debt (Whitehouse 2013).

Furthermore, ironically and tragically, Haiti continues to be plagued by slavery and ranks second in the world among countries with the highest prevalence of modern slavery. Table 3.2 shows the list of the top ten nations in the world with the highest rates of modern slavery. Although nearly every country in the world has committed to prevent and eradicate modern forms of

TABLE 3.2

Countries with the Highest Prevalence of Modern Slavery

RANK	COUNTRY
1	Mauritania
2	Haiti
3	Pakistan
4	India
5	Nepal
6	Moldova
7	Benin
8	Côte d'Ivoire
9	The Gambia
10	Gabon

Source: United Nations. 2013. *Global slavery index*. http://www.ungift.org/doc/knowledgehub/resource-centre/2013/GlobalSlaveryIndex_2013_Download_WEB1.pdf (Accessed February 5, 2015).

slavery through their policies and laws as well as international conventions, it is estimated that almost 30 million people are enslaved today. They are living as forced laborers, forced prostitutes, child soldiers, child brides in forced marriages as pieces of property, and chattel in the servitude of absolute ownership (Fisher 2013; United Nations 2013).

Enslaved Women and Resistance to Slavery in the United States

When we looked at intersectionality theory in the first chapter, we learned the importance of observing the intersections of systems of oppression. In this chapter we have focused on the intersection of systems of racial exploitation and the colonial system that was marked by tensions between colonial powers from Europe and people from Africa. Intersectionality theory suggests that other systems also intersected with these two. Feminist theorists have drawn our attention, in particular, to the ways in which gender fits into the picture.

Angela Davis (1981) is a scholar who has looked gender in the slave system of the United States. She notes that because slavery in many ways was so brutal, gender inequality faded in comparison. She maintains, however, that a division of labor did exist on many plantations. Enslaved women contributed to the survival of those in the community through "women's work" of feeding and clothing others, cooking and mending, healing the sick, and birthing babies. Davis also asserts that the critical contribution of women doing this survival labor within the slave community enhanced their value to the community. Women were essential to the community's survival. Davis argues that the recognition of women as critical members of the community allowed them to emerge as important political leaders.

In her research, Davis found that African American women took on leadership roles in many community activities. For example, African American women played an active role in the Underground Railroad and other forms of insurrection against the slave system. Women were likely to initiate and implement acts of sabotage, arson, and assassination as part of an ongoing battle against slavery. Sometimes domestic work itself was openly political, for example, when women fed runaway slaves, thus aiding them in their journey (Aptheker 1943).

The leadership, and especially the militant resistance against slavery, in which enslaved women participated is especially noteworthy in light of the organization of gender and the role of women in the dominant white culture during this period in American history. During the nineteenth

century, white women in middle-class and upper-class families were identified with domesticity and the same kinds of “women’s work” that was being performed in slave communities by women—minding the children, making and mending clothes, and feeding and attending to the health needs of the community. In the dominant culture, white women were supposed to make their family work the center of their lives. Their identification with domesticity diminished white women’s importance in the community, because their domestic work kept them away from activities in the economic and political world that were the seats of power. As a result, women’s work was invisible, and women’s attempts to have any effect on politics were discouraged or even banned (J. Jones 1985).

We have seen that African American women were doing the same household work as middle-class white women but in a very different context and with a very different effect. Black women’s domestic activities performed in service to the adults and children of the slave community enhanced their importance to that community. In addition, it enhanced their ability to serve the political struggle against slavery. At the same time the African American community allowed, encouraged, and even demanded that African American slave women run an Underground Railroad and burn down plantations, the white community would not even allow white women to speak before a crowd (Dill 1983). Intersectionality theory shows us that when we look at the intersection of race, slavery, and gender, the story of individuals is complex and variable. No one piece can be understood without the other.

TRIBALISM AND COLONIALISM

The initiation and development of the transatlantic slave trade is tightly tied to the emergence and development of the concept of race and the practice of racism. A less well-known issue also tied to the invention of the ideology of race and the practice of racism is the concept of *tribalism*. The idea that people in Africa organized themselves into tribes with opposing interests and values is one that is commonly held. Lentz (2000) argues this idea is not valid. She writes:

Western scholars are generally agreed that much of precolonial Africa did not consist of “tribes” (or in today’s language “ethnic groups”), with clear-cut cultural, linguistic and politico-territorial boundaries. Rather, the most prominent characteristics of pre-colonial African societies were mobility, overlapping networks,

multiple group membership and the context-dependent drawing of boundaries. Only in few cases did precolonial community ideologies resemble the European eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' thinking about "nations." Most African communities based themselves on neighborhood, kinship or even common loyalty to a king, but this did not absolutely have to include a common language and culture. (Lentz 2000, 107–8)

What the British saw as hard and fast tribal divisions were actually flexible groupings into which people easily moved depending on economic or environmental circumstances. These people almost always found themselves welcome wherever they went because of the value of their labor and the increased security greater numbers produced (Osborne and Kent 2015).

Today, we hear on the news about interethnic wars between different so-called tribal groups in Africa. But tribalism did not precede contact with Europeans. Rather, it emerged during colonialism and especially at the time of the invention of the nation state and division of continents, especially in Africa (but also in other regions, for example, in the Middle East in Iraq) into acceptable parcels for colonial powers to control. Historical research shows that tribalism was an idea that was created by colonial powers, especially Britain, during colonial periods (Iliffe 1979; Lentz 2000, Southall 1970; Ranger 1983; Vail 1989).

In Chapter 2, we examined some of the characteristics of current international relations by using the term *neocolonialism*, and we noted that it describes the unequal and exploitative relationship between wealthy Northern nations and poorer less powerful Southern nations. *Colonialism* refers to the historical period in which European nations arrived in the Western Hemisphere, Africa, and Asia. Europeans came to extract resources, claim land, and establish European communities to rule the territories. In colonial United States, the British were able to do this for a couple of centuries but were eventually driven out in the late eighteenth century. European colonial powers hung on for much longer in the rest of the world, and the direct rule of India, China, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America by nations such as Germany, Portugal, Spain, and especially Britain did not end until well into the twentieth century. Box 3.2 describes the Treaty of Berlin in which European nations came together to decide which of them should control the various regions on the African continent.

In the area now known as the nation of Ghana, British gunboats came to extract the natural resources. The British found that the social

organization of people living there was not centralized into nations with heads of state. Instead, the West African people were organized around smaller scattered groups of farmsteads in communities and villages as well as kin networks that subsisted on farming and hunting and did not interact much with other small communities. In 1898, the British government declared the area now known as Ghana as a protectorate and sent officials to create trade agreements with the people who lived in the region. The authorities found the fluid and fragmented groups difficult to manage; the people did not fit into the British idea of proper units with which to negotiate intergovernmental arrangements. In order to address the problem, the British introduced the idea that every man must be a member of one and only one tribe and every woman should be assigned to the tribe of her husband.

As part of their strategy to create this organization, the British invented the mythology of tribalism. "The united tribe under a strong chief remained for most colonial officers in the inter-war period the dominant model to which political reform should be oriented, even though this model could nowhere be translated into practice" (Lentz 2000, 116). Although it had no basis in fact, they figuratively grouped together villages and called them tribes (Young 1985). The people whom the British officials claimed to be part of these tribes in fact often did not share the same language or culture, let alone a political structure with a central leader. Nevertheless, the British invented and then promoted the idea that people who were members of the various tribes were ruled by tribal leaders whom the British maintained had the authority to negotiate deals with the British. This allowed the British to cut the trees and mine the ores, shipping their booty to sell for profit back home and all over the world (Marks 2014).

These so-called tribes did not really exist, and the British were not meeting with legitimate leaders. But, the myth of tribes created a facade of legitimacy to their exploitation. The concept of tribes, however, eventually became real, even in the eyes of the people who were supposedly members of one or another tribe. By the twentieth century, the idea of clearcut ethnic boundaries dividing people into identifiable tribes became real.

Some aspects of the idea and practice became useful to some people living under colonial rule. The ethnic boundaries and identities became a way for migrants to cope with situations of strangeness and uncertainty. In addition, they were beneficial to African elites, who could claim leadership and control of resources over which they might negotiate deals with colonial powers.

BOX 3.2

The Treaty of Berlin

In November 1884 a move by colonial nations, known as the *Treaty of Berlin*, helped solidify the false divisions of the peoples on the continent of Africa. Led by representatives from Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Belgium the conference met to decide which people on the African continent they had a "right" to control and exploit (Pakenham 1990). At the time of the conference, about 80 percent of Africa remained under traditional and local control (Firstbrook 2011). When the meeting ended, the colonial powers controlled 90% of the continent after creating 50 countries superimposed over thousands of indigenous cultures and regions of Africa (David 2011).

The invention and reproduction of tribes and nations is important to understanding the development of race/ethnicity and racism. Slavery created the need for a racial ideology that divided the world into those who could legitimately be enslaved and those who could not. The creation and promotion of the concept of tribalism and of nations arbitrarily created by the political and economic needs of the colonial powers provided a justification of rifts within regions and societies, which could then be further refined into racial/ethnic differences that are the source of racial/ethnic wars. These divisions served the colonial powers as a political strategy of divide and conquer. Furthermore, the concept of tribes fueled the stereotype of Africans, in general, as uncivilized, intolerant people.

British beliefs about tribes presented an opportunity for young, upwardly mobile, "wannabe" chiefs who saw a chance to gain status and power. They put themselves forward as "tribal leaders," and eager officials gladly appointed them, especially if they proved that they could assist with procuring men to serve as "native auxiliaries" or laborers. Although they brought the "tribal leaders" short-term advantages, their self-appointments often proved disastrous to their communities and even to the colonial officials. Because they had no real status, they commanded little respect, and few people obeyed them, which resulted in their turning to force and corruption to maintain their image. One British official stationed in eastern Kenya wrote, "we became saddled



FIGURE 3.1

The Treaty of Berlin was an agreement by European powers to divide up the continent of Africa up into parcels that would be controlled and exploited by European nations. (*Library of Congress/Science Source*)

with a large number of persons of no importance and possessed of no authority" (quoted in Osborne and Kent 2015, 113).

Despite these difficulties for colonial officials, they were able to exploit the supposed divisions, creating "interethnic" rivalries. Today we hear much about the difficult tensions, wars, and ethnic cleansings that were an outgrowth of this system superimposed on African societies by the European colonial powers. When the news reports them, however, the rivalries and the groups/tribes are presented as something that is part of ancient, precolonial, history. Box 3.3 describes one of the worst examples of how the colonial creation of tribes and tribal competition and hatred by Belgian and German colonial powers resulted in genocide in Rwanda in the 1990s.

BOX 3.3

Rwandan Genocide

In 1994, more than 800,000 people were killed in a government-run *genocide* in Rwanda (Corry 1998). The message of the international press to the world was that the conflict between Rwandans was somehow historically inevitable because of the long history, preceding colonialism, of the struggle between competing race/ethnicities from the two “tribes” the Hutus and the Tutsis (Hintjins 2001). Is this view valid or is it buying into a myth created during the colonial period?

Prior to the arrival of the German and Belgian colonizers to the area now known as Rwanda and Burundi, the social boundaries between the Hutus and the Tutsis were fluid and permeable. Although the two groups were distinguishable on the basis of their occupation, they did not see each other as different tribes or race/ethnicities. Hutus were farmers and Tutsis were cattle breeders. One could cross from one category to the other. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, there was no trace of systematic violence between the two groups (Prunier 1995). During the colonization of Rwanda in the late nineteenth century, however, missionaries and colonial administrators introduced an ideology of the racial/ethnic division known as the *Hamitic hypothesis* to organize and exploit the Twa people (who were hunter-gatherers) as well as the Tutsis and Hutus living in the region.

The Hamitic hypothesis asserts that anything of value that exists in Africa was brought there by the Hamites, supposedly a branch of European people who were better armed and quicker witted than the Africans (Sanders 1969). Seligman articulated this position: “Apart from relatively late Semitic influence . . . the civilizations of Africa are the civilizations of the Hamites . . . who are Caucasians, i.e. belong to the same great branch of mankind as almost all Europeans” (Seligman, 1939, 96).

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

Door of No Return; colonialism; 1885 Treaty of Berlin; Great Chain of Being; Dred Scott; transatlantic slave trade; Maafa; Elmira Castle and Dungeon; African Diaspora; black essentialism; systemic racism; Haitian revolution; marrons; tribalism; Hamitic hypothesis; Rwandan genocide

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. What does the word *Maafa* mean and what evidence is there to support the use of this term to describe the transatlantic slave trade?

In a divide and rule tradition, the first European colonialists from Germany and Belgium interpreted ancient Biblical myths surrounding race about Ham, who was cursed by his father Noah. They claimed that the Hutus were descendants of Ham whereas the Tutsis were descendants of the Nilotic civilization of classical Egypt. They applied the Hamitic hypothesis by ascribing an elite, almost European status to the Tutsi people. The Europeans claimed the Tutsis were natural-born leaders and assigned them to rule over the Hutu and Twa peoples (Prunier 1995). For example, only Tutsi people were allowed to work for the colonial offices or to join the army (White 2009). Francois Menard, a Roman Catholic missionary in Burundi in 1917, wrote, "[The Tutsi is] closer to the White man than the Negro... he is a European under a black skin" (quoted in Gahama 1983, 275). Colonialists created a distinction between the three so-called tribes, which had not existed before the Europeans arrived, and then proceeded to build a hierarchy among them with the "nearly European" group in charge (Gourevitch 1998). The Belgians issued identity cards to all people, indicating whether they were Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa, and then built a segregated system in the church, the government, and schools and put Tutsis in charge of all of these (Lemarchand 2009).

During the 1994 genocide, the Hamitic myth was used in print and broadcast media as part of the justification for killing. The Hamitic hypothesis created the myth that Hutus and Tutsis were ancient enemies from two separate racial/ethnic tribes. The Hutus ran the government and then convinced the Hutu people that their enemies must be driven out (Eltringham 2006). The genocide in Rwanda was the result of a complex set of factors, some rooted in the past and others based in contemporary politics of corruption and greed within and outside of the country. The myth of tribes and tribal enemies, however, contributed a key element in one of the worst genocides in human history (Brent 2006).

2. Look at Table 2.1 and imagine that a classmate who cannot see it has asked you to explain it to him or her. What does the table tell us? Give the person specific information because he or she cannot see the numbers, but also provide an overview of what information the table provides.
3. In your own words, explain the link between the emergence and development of the concept of race and the emergence and development of slavery. Be sure to look at the three lessons listed at the end of the section "Justifying Slavery."
4. Why did the British create the idea that tribes existed in the African societies from which they wanted to extract resources? How did they create not only the idea but the actual division of African societies into tribes?

4



FIGURE 4.0

Dalit street cleaners in India. Although discrimination by caste is now illegal in India, Dalits continue to be abused and left with the most difficult and lowest paid work. (Natalia Davidovich/Shutterstock.com)

THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA



The caste system was outlawed in India in the middle of the twentieth century, but stigmatization and oppression of people who were at the lowest tier of the system continues.

Dalits, formerly known as untouchables which is now considered an offensive term, persist in their struggle to rid India of the caste system. In India, the social force religion resulted in the creation of an ancient caste system, which continues to be a serious human rights problem. The caste system is thousands of years old and preceded the emergence of colonialism and the global slave trade. In the Indian caste system, the conceptualization of different population groups is somewhat different than in racial/ethnic systems in Africa, Europe, and the Western hemisphere. This chapter explores those similarities and differences. The chapter focuses, in particular, on the category of Dalit and examines the historical relationship between Dalits and people of other castes, as well as legal changes in India outlawing castes and the social movements of Dalits for civil and human rights.

We begin with an overview of the history and current situation regarding castes in India. The chapter then examines the effects of colonialism on the caste system and the role of two key figures in this history: Mohandas Gandhi and B. R. Ambedkar. Next, we move to the contemporary issue of government policies seeking to address inequality and abolish the caste system and the work of National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights activists in achieving these goals. The chapter concludes with a discussion of four theories

that have been developed to understand the caste system, especially its roots and its connection to race/ethnicity and racism.

CASTES IN INDIA

The *caste system* in India is part of the ancient religion of *Hinduism*. Hinduism is the third largest religion after Christianity and Islam, with about one billion adherents, which is about 15 percent of the total world population. Nearly all Hindus (94%) live in India (Pew Research Center 2012).

Hinduism is based on a strict hierarchy linked to occupation. Figure 4.1 shows the various castes and the occupations with which they are associated. The highest level caste and those considered closest to the gods are Brahman—priests and academics. The next levels are Kshatryia—warriors and kings; Vaishya, merchants and landowners—and Sudra, commoners, peasants, and servants. All other people are outcasts, outside

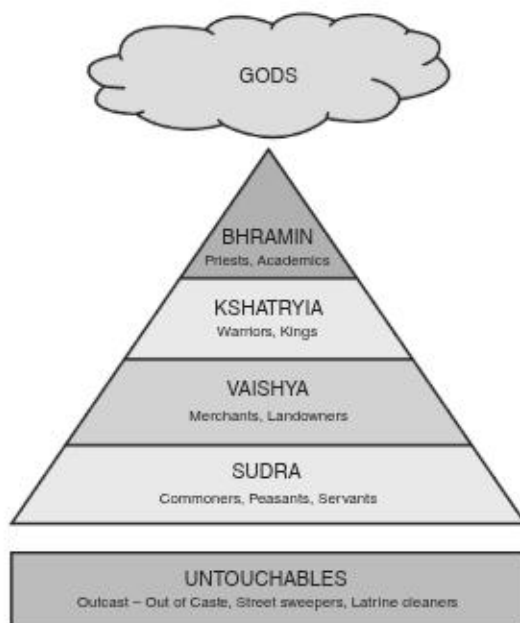


FIGURE 4.1

Castes and occupations associated with them in India form a hierarchy with those at the top having access to the best schools, jobs and housing and those at the bottom with almost nothing. The term "untouchable" is now considered offensive. People in this category prefer to be called Dalits.

of the caste system and are called Dalits (Human Rights Watch 2001). They work as butchers, street sweepers, and latrine cleaners. They also take care of the dead, disposing of bodies and sending them off to the next life.

The caste system has a long history rooted in the development of the Hindu religion. Going back about 2,000 years, the caste system was part of the region that eventually became the nation state of India. The roots of the oppression of Dalits go back to the origins of the caste system in the Hindu religion. The philosophy of caste is contained in the Manusmriti, a sacred Hindu text dating from the second century BCE. Outcast communities were forbidden to join in the religious and social life of the community, and they were confined to menial tasks that were seen as polluting such as animal slaughter and leather-working (because the leather was softened by human urine). Today, Dalits identify themselves as members of many different religions, including Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and indigenous religions, as well as Hinduism (Sachar 2006).

Dalits constitute 16 percent of the Indian population—about 197 million people. (For comparison, the population of the United States is about 314 million.) Although Dalits are a minority in India, they are huge chunk of humanity.

The castes are hierarchical, with those at the top allowed more privilege, power, and greater access to everything than those in lower castes. All of the castes, however, are essential because of the work they do. Ironically, one of the most important tasks in the Hindu religion, delivering the dead to the next life, is assigned to those in the most stigmatized group, those outside the caste system—Dalits.

Social stigma refers to the ostracism of people from particular social groups. Erving Goffman, who was one of the first social scientists to write about stigma, explained it as the belief that “people who possess a characteristic defined as socially undesirable acquire a ‘spoiled identity’ which leads then to social devaluation and discrimination” (Goffman 1963, 15). Goffman claimed there were three types of stigma: (1) one associated with deformities of the body such as missing limbs, (2) one associated with character flaws such as drug addiction, and (3) one related to the perception and treatment of Dalits. He describes this third type as “the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion,” which “can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family” (Goffman 1963, 14).

Goffman and other classical theorists focused their attention on the microinteractions among individuals and did not link stigma

to the larger social context. The stigmatization of Dalits provides us with an example of how stigma is built into both individual social interactions as well as social institutions, in this case a huge pervasive social institution, the caste system.

Sometimes, especially in the past, Dalits have been called *untouchables*. This term is familiar to people, especially those outside of India, but the word is derogatory and is no longer acceptable. Dalit, a more preferable word, is now used to describe this group in India. The word *Dalit* is derived from the Sanskrit (the language of Hindu worship) and translates to suppressed, crushed, or broken (Mendelsohn and Vicziany 1998). Political activists working to end discrimination and abuse of Dalits use the term to express the idea that people in this outcast group were humiliated and brutally oppressed but that they have survived and now are proudly seeking justice.

Colonialism and Caste

In the previous chapter, we explored the way in which British colonialism created and shaped social relations within Africa and between people from Africa and others. The concept of race, together with the idea that some races were less human than others and were justifiably enslaved because of the superiority of those in the slaveholding race, emerged as the British and other nations involved in the transatlantic slave trade needed a defense of the slave system. We also learned that the idea of tribes and the composition of groups who came to be known as tribes in Africa were also part of the process of colonialism and the need for the British to be able to control the African populations in order to exploit their labor and their resources. The caste system preceded the arrival of the colonial British in India. The shape of the system and the relationships among castes and outcasts, however, were also shaped by British ideas and policies and by their need to control and take advantage of the Indian people and their country.

During the colonial period, the caste system was not discouraged and in fact was supported by the British. British officials created racial/ethnic policies that benefited Indians of high castes and discriminated against those of low castes (Verghese 2013). One practice that became an important technique for accomplishing this was the census implemented by the British in India. The census count instituted by the British in 1865 asked Indians to periodically identify their caste in censuses held until 1931 (Samarendra 2011).

Samarendra draws on documents from colonial officials tasked with conducting the census to show how fluid caste was in India before

British rule and how hard British officials had to work to try to make it into a "rational" system. The census commissioner writes in the early 1900s (as quoted in Samarendra 2011, 56):

'In a country where the accident of birth determines irrevocably the whole course of a man's social and domestic relations . . . one thing that he may be expected to know with certainty, and to disclose without much reluctance, is the name of the caste . . . to which he belongs.' Yet when asked about his caste, wrote a dismayed census commissioner . . . , 'a respondent might actually give the name of an obscure caste . . . a sect . . . a sub-caste [*sic*] . . . an exogamous sect . . . a hypergamous group . . . may describe himself by . . . occupation or . . . the province or tract of country from which he comes.'

The *census of castes* was conducted because the British government thought that they needed to compartmentalize the huge population of India as a way to manage and control them (Jones 1981). The British believed that caste was the key to understanding the people of India. "Caste was seen as the essence of Indian society, the system through which it was possible to classify all of the various groups of indigenous people according to their ability, as reflected by caste, to be of service to the British" (Hobson n.d.).

The process of asking everyone to identify their caste and then registering this information solidified the distinctions among the different groups. Before the census, the lines between castes and the relationships among them was more fluid. In order to conduct the census, British believed that each caste had to be discrete, homogeneous, and enumerable (Samarendra 2011). Rather than being a neutral and benign recorder of some preexisting reality, the census itself became a key factor in reproducing, legitimizing, and solidifying the caste system (Chandra and Chandra 1993). As a result, the caste system became more rigid, and the privilege for some castes and the oppression of others became more intense (Burguière and Grew 2001).

The British also added the element of color to the hierarchy. Colorism, which refers to valuing lighter colors within racial/ethnic groups, was not part of the Hindu caste system. Some gods and goddesses, for example, were depicted with dark skin, others with light. The British, however, brought with them the idea that color was a critical feature of distinguishing between worthy humans and less worthy ones. The British, who were mostly lighter, promoted the idea that their skin color was part of the

justification for their dominance over Indian people. They also argued that this distinction could be used to see the difference between higher and lower castes because the very highest ranks were unlikely to work outside in the sun and therefore had lighter skin than those lower castes who worked outside and had darker (tanned) skin (Nadeem 2014). Today, creams that supposedly lighten skin are a highly controversial US \$200,000 industry in India (Nadeem 2014).

The Doctor and the Saint

In the early twentieth century, Indians stepped up their demands for independence from the British. Mohandas Gandhi was a key figure in this movement. Gandhi sought to unite Indians across lines of social inequality, especially religion, to confront the British and demand that they relinquish control to the Indian people. He is known around the world for the tactic of nonviolence he used in the struggles to achieve these goals. A Nobel laureate, Gandhi is seen as a monumental leader, almost a saint, because his work represents humanity's striving for both justice and peace (Roy 2012).

Gandhi, however, was not really a saint. He was a political figure, and some have argued that his ideas and his goals were not without problems, especially regarding the question of caste and outcasts. Gandhi was a Hindu, and although he abhorred the treatment of Dalits, he also believed that Hinduism was the bedrock of Indian society and that the caste system was the core of Hinduism. He argued, therefore, that the caste system needed reform but that it also needed to be retained. Gandhi believed that maintaining the integrity of Hinduism and the caste system was not only a spiritual necessity, it was also essential to building a strong united political force against the British and their colonial rule of India (Dirks 2001).

Gandhi was a *nationalist*, which means that he thought that Indians needed to unite as a nation against Britain in order to gain its independence. Nationalists called for setting aside social cleavages within a nation and emphasizing the unifying identity of nation. During the meetings to plan the future of India in the early twentieth century, British officials worked to appease what they saw as various factions of Indian society by offering them access to political power. Gandhi argued that the British were intent on dividing and (continuing to) conquer India. Gandhi is well known for his struggle to unite Indian Hindus and Indian Muslims. But the cleavage within Hinduism between the upper castes and the lower, especially Dalits, was also a central challenge for nationalists in India (Kumar 1985).

Dr. Bhimrao R. Ambedkar was the leader of the Dalits. Much less well known to the global community, he, too, is perceived as a hero in Indian history, particularly for his commitment to justice for Dalits. Born a Hindu and a Dalit, Ambedkar was devoted to building a post-British India where Dalits were no longer oppressed and exploited, were supported economically and politically, and were granted access to education in order to ensure their participation as equals (Ambedkar [1936] 2014). Although Ambedkar would have agreed with Gandhi that Hinduism and the caste system were the bedrock of Indian society, he saw the caste system and eventually Hinduism as a “chamber of horrors” (Roy 2012). Ambedkar criticized Gandhi for ignoring the entitlement and inequality inherent to the caste system. He feared that when the British left, India would be left in the hands of the Hindu hierarchy, which would mean that Dalits would be locked into their powerless and oppressed position. Ambedkar chose to work with the British to create a government that split the Hindu community, but attempted to guarantee Dalits access to a voice in governing bodies.

When India began to prepare itself for independence from Britain, all of this came to a head around the question of allowing a separate electorate and reserving seats in government for Dalits. The British had offered this to various population groups in India such as Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians. Ambedkar demanded that Dalits, too, should be treated as a distinct community and be given reserved seats and the right to a separate electorate. Ambedkar argued that a leadership created through the provision of reserved seats in Hindu constituencies would be controlled by the dominant upper castes and would be unable to speak for the Dalits (Kumar 1985). Gandhi disagreed with Ambedkar’s demand and went on a hunger strike. Ambedkar was forced to back away from his position, and he and Gandhi met in Puna to negotiate a compromise called the *Poona Pact of 1932*. The resolution that came out of the Poona Pact stated: “. . . henceforth, amongst Hindus no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth and they will have the same rights in all the social institutions as the other Hindus have.” But the mechanism Ambedkar thought would enable Dalits to achieve this goal, a separate electorate and reserved seats, was abandoned.

Making the Caste System Illegal

When India gained its independence from the British in 1947, the new government ruled the caste system illegal. In 1989, the Government of India passed the *Prevention of Atrocities Act* (POA) to try to bolster the

protection of Dalits. The POA identified specific brutalities to which Dalits had been subjected and created (1) explicit punishments for those who committed the crimes and (2) special courts to try the cases. Some of the kinds of atrocities included forced consumption of noxious substances, forced labor, denial of access to water and other public amenities, and sexual abuse of Dalit women.

The Indian government has also initiated a number of affirmative action policies to try to redress the inequities created by the history of the caste system (Parekh 2013). The Indian government has created a policy of “reservations” or caste-based quotas in an attempt to address past injustices related to low-caste status and to alter the current balance of power and access to jobs in a way that provides greater opportunities for Dalits. For example, the Indian constitution reserves 22.5 percent of federal government jobs, seats in state legislatures, the lower house of parliament, and educational institutions for *scheduled castes*—the legal term for Dalits in India.

The reservation policy, however, has not yet been fully implemented. For example, 54 percent of the total scheduled caste reservation quota in the Central Government remain unfilled, more than 88 percent of posts reserved in the public sector remain unfilled, and 45 percent in state banks remain unfilled. At the same time, an “unacknowledged reservation policy” for upper castes, particularly Brahmans, is built into the system. Although they represent only 5 percent of the population, Brahmans constitute 70 percent of the Class I officers in governmental services. At universities, upper castes occupy 90 percent of the teaching posts in the social sciences and 94 percent in the sciences, whereas Dalit representation is only 1.2 and 0.5 percent, respectively. Attempts by Dalits to contest these inequities, to run for office, or to even vote have been met with violent responses by the police (Human Rights Watch 2001).

Part of the failure of these policies to be fully successful occurs because of ignorance of the law. Indians who are not Dalit are often unaware of the kinds of discrimination and cruel attacks to which Dalits are subject. Even public officials are still not familiar with the laws. In addition, police who do know the laws have been reluctant to enforce them if their friends and community are the offenders. Furthermore, the laws themselves are weak because the special protections and affirmative action programs for Dalits that have been set up by the government to address the problems are restricted to those who are Hindus. And because a large proportion of Dalits currently belong to other religions, a significant proportion are not served by the laws.

In addition to these problems with the policies and laws and their implementation, further structural problems create barriers to ending inequality of Dalits. For example, Dalits are more often poor and more often living in rural areas than other groups. Although about one-third of India's general population is poor, two-thirds of Dalits are poor (Shrinivasan 2010). Both of these factors are associated with lower levels of completing high school and attending or completing college. Their inability to acquire an education hinders their ability to gain access to better jobs and all of the goods and services higher wages could purchase (Azam and Blom 2008). Even without direct exclusion of Dalits, inequality is institutionalized in the economy, the educational system, rural/urban residential patterns, and the labor market.

Perhaps the greatest barrier to reducing or eliminating discrimination against Dalits is the question of power. In order to address both individual and institutional discrimination, Dalits need the authority to implement programs and policies that can close the gaps. Power, however, continues to be held by those at the top who are more likely to be descendants of the privileged castes, more likely to attain higher levels of education, and more likely to enter and maintain their positions in better paid and more powerful occupations (Krishna 2014).

Lower-caste women are particularly vulnerable to exploitation, discrimination, and physical attacks. Sexual abuse and other forms of violence against women are often used by landlords and the police to inflict political "lessons" and crush dissent within the community. Lower-caste women also suffer disproportionately in terms of access to healthcare, education, and subsistence wages as compared to women of higher castes. Dalit women in India and Nepal make up the majority of landless laborers and scavengers. In addition, many women are forced into sex work in rural areas or sold into urban brothels. Incidents of gang rape, stripping, and parading women naked through the streets, as well as making them eat excrement, are all crimes that have been reported against Dalit women in India. In addition, Dalit women whose relatives are sought by the police have also been arrested and tortured in custody as a means of punishing their male relatives who are hiding from the authorities (Human Rights Watch 1999). You should recall that in Chapter 1, we looked at the theory of intersectionality. The situation of Dalit women reveals the particularly inhumane of women in the caste system whose lives are at the intersection of at least three systems of inequality: gender, social class, and caste.

CASTES BEYOND INDIA

The caste system and the problems faced by Dalits are primarily associated with people in India. But Dalit people live in other nations in southern Asia such as Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. In addition, people who are oppressed as outcasts include those from other societies and nations such as the Baraku people of Japan, the Osu people of Nigeria (of the Igbo people), and certain groups in Senegal and Mauritania (Human Rights Watch 2001). Table 4.1 shows a list of communities that are organized into castes with some people outside of the system and subjected to human rights abuses. The table shows a similarity in the exploitation and oppression of people who are outcasts in caste systems in many places in Asia and Africa.

TABLE 4.1

Caste Systems in Nations Other Than India

Bangladesh: Methor community (traditionally sweepers and manual scavengers)
Burkina Faso: Bellah community (traditionally slaves, unpaid manual laborers, to other caste "owners")
Japan: Buraku community (at the bottom of the Japanese class system; traditionally viewed as filthy and/or nonhuman)
Kenya: Watta community (traditionally considered low, worthless, and consigned to a life of servitude from birth)
Mauritania: Haratin community (these "black moors" are considered slaves to the Bidan, or "white moors," in Mauritanian society)
Nepal: Dalit community (situation is essentially the same as that of Dalits in India)
Nigeria: Osu community (traditionally the Osu people are "owned" by deities and considered as outcaste, untouchable, and subhuman)
Pakistan: Dalit community (like Dalits in India, except in Muslim society there is no concept of ritual pollution; concepts of privilege and shame are used instead)
Rwanda: Twa community (at bottom of social hierarchy with no legal protection from discrimination and no representation in positions of power/authority)
Senegal: Neeno and Nyamakalaw communities (largely blacksmiths and leatherworkers, they are considered impure and face explicit segregation and exclusion)
Sri Lanka: Rodi/Rodiya and Pallar/Paraiyar communities (these groups face discrimination in employment, practices of social distance, and denial of access to resources)
Somalia: Midgan community (minority outcast group facing violence, refusal of rights, and possessing no legal protections)

Source: National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR). n.d. <http://www.ncdhr.org.in/dalits-untouchability/>.

CASTES AND RACISM

Is discrimination and oppression of Dalits a form of racism? According to the global community, the answer to this question is yes. In 2001, the Global Conference Against Racism and Caste-based Discrimination was convened in New Delhi by representatives and victims from India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, South Africa, Japan, Sri Lanka, the Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, Hong Kong SAR, the United Kingdom, and the United States (United Nations 2001a). Testimony was given by victims of caste-based discrimination who had suffered extreme violence, abhorrent work conditions, degradation, exclusion and humiliation in addition to discussions by experts, activists, academics, and grassroots leaders about their work to end caste-based discrimination. The conveners appealed to governments and the international community to end this crime against humanity. Their final declaration condemned caste (occupation- and descent-based) discrimination and the practice of untouchability as the source of immense human suffering and the cause of gross human rights violations and of dehumanizing and degrading treatment of 240 million people.

In the declaration, the participants affirmed that caste is "a basis for the segregation and oppression of peoples in terms of their descent and occupation [and] is a form of apartheid and a distinct form of racism affecting victims equally irrespective of religion" (United Nations 2001a). In addition, they asserted that untouchability is a crime against humanity affecting at least 240 million persons in South Asia and millions of others in East Asia and West Africa. They also recognized that although governments have undertaken constitutional, legislative, and policy initiatives, as well as set up administrative bodies to combat discrimination based on caste and race, a lack of political will has meant that these efforts have been insufficient and are being diluted, subverted, and not properly implemented.

National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights

The National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) was a central player in the actions to bring the situation of Dalits to international attention and to promote policies within those nations where Dalits live, especially in India. NCDHR was launched in 1998 and divides its history into three phases. In its first phase, NCDHR focused its work on making the issues visible through signature campaigns of petitions to the Indian Prime Minister, international conferences, rallies, and the

production of the Millennium Dalit Charter. Although Dalits face serious and prevalent abuse, many Indians have been unaware of their plight, believing that discrimination against the Dalit community is a thing of the past—a problem that was solved decades ago in the 1960s. NCDHR has worked to expose the continued abuse of Dalits and the need for educational, policy and political change.

In phase two, NCDHR continued to focus on visibility by expanding their campaigns for awareness at the international level. For example, NCHDR was involved in events such as the “World Conference Against Racism” in South Africa in 2001, all of the World Social Forums, the historic 40-day “Dalit Swadhikar Rally” across India converging into World Social Forum in Mumbai in 2004, the first public hearing on “The Situation of the Dalits in India” at the European Parliament in Brussels in 2006, and the first “International Conference on the Human Rights of Dalit Women” at the Hague in 2006. As a result of these efforts, the Dalit Human Rights problem was first recognized by the United Nations in 2001 and by the European Union and the US Congress in 2007. These events have been especially important in increasing international pressure on the government of India.

In phase three, NCDHR have sought to hold the Indian government responsible for ignoring the crimes of those who have abused Dalits but have not been charged in the criminal justice system. NCDHR has challenged the Indian government to implement and enforce constitutional and legislative measures to safeguard, protect, and promote the basic human rights of Dalits. During this third phase, the emphasis has been on directly influencing the government through grass-roots mobilization, building alliances and campaigns, and systematic monitoring and reporting of atrocities against Dalits to pressure the Indian Criminal Justice system to act (NCDHR n.d.).

FOUR THEORIES

Is discrimination and oppression of Dalits as a part of the caste system a form of racism, or is it related to social class inequality or religion? As we noted above, political bodies such as the United Nations have asserted that it is a form of racism. The answer to this query as a theoretical question, however, has been a subject of important debates in the field for more than a century. There are at least four theoretical positions on relationship between caste and race/ethnicity. One point of view is reflected in the work of Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish sociologist. A second comes

from the writings of Ambedkar, the Indian scholar, activist, and political leader. Third, is the position of Oliver Cox, an American sociologist. Fourth, is the most recent framework, which emerged in the World Conference Against Racism at the turn of the century.

Gunnar Myrdal

In the middle of the twentieth century, Myrdal was commissioned by the Carnegie Commission to write a report on race relations in the United States. Myrdal argued that white racism kept black Americans from fully developing their humanity. He used the concept of caste as a way to understand racism in the United States. This perspective on race as a form of caste was the dominant view of sociologists at that time (Cox 1942). In the work of Myrdal and other race scholars in the mid-twentieth century who were identified as advocates of the caste school of race relations, caste was defined as (Warner 1936, 234):

Describ[ing] a theoretical arrangement of the people of a given group in an order in which the privileges, duties, obligations, opportunities, etc., are unequally distributed between the groups which are considered to be higher and lower. There are social sanctions which tend to maintain the unequal distribution. Such a definition also describes class. A caste organization, however, can be further defined as one where marriage between two or more groups is not sanctioned and where there is no opportunity for members of the lower groups to rise into the upper groups or of members of the upper to fall into the lower ones.

Myrdal wrote that the caste relationship between white and black Americans created a cycle of white prejudice, black inferiority, and further escalated white prejudice. He stated that "white prejudice and discrimination keep the Negro low in standards of living, health, education, manners and morals. This, in its turn, gives support to white prejudice. White prejudice and Negro standards thus mutually 'cause' each other" (Myrdal 1944, 75). Myrdal has been criticized for his assertions about the supposedly lower standards of black Americans. He has also been criticized for his assumption that a reduction in prejudice, without political and institutional change, will bring about racial harmony, and even more significantly that it will bring about racial justice (Spark 2001).

Myrdal's view is flawed because he maintains that white prejudice was at least partly valid because of the "lower standards of Negroes." This assertion is making all kinds of unsubstantiated assumptions about the value of one community compared to another. His view is also flawed because it assumes that white people always saw African Americans as having "lower standards." You should recall in the last chapter that we looked at the creation and development of the prejudiced ideas about Africans as the history of the slave system unfolded. When Europeans first came in contact with Africans, their view of Africans was one that saw differences between themselves and the African people they met but also saw African people in a positive way as successful farmers, craftspeople, and tradespeople. It was only when the slave system began to be developed, and especially when it was attacked by antislavery forces, did the negative ideas about Africans as supposedly uncivilized and subhuman emerge (Smedley 1997). Myrdal's position is also weakened by his definition of racism as a system where people from one community are not allowed to marry those from another community. White people and people of other racial/ethnic groups in the United States were forbidden to marry one another until the 1960s through "antimiscegenation" laws, the period in which Myrdal was writing. These laws have now been lifted. Racism, however, persists.

B. R. Ambedkar

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born a Dalit but eventually became the first Minister of Law and Justice in India and headed the committee that wrote the Indian constitution after the successful struggle for freedom from British rule. His role in Indian history is described in the discussion above on the contrast between his view of the caste system with that of Gandhi's. Ambedkar was a social justice activist and a policymaker. He worked to change laws and to challenge economic and gender injustice and the oppression of Dalits through a range of tactics.

Ambedkar was also a scholar who wrote extensively about the caste system. He disagreed with Myrdal. Although Ambedkar saw a number of similarities between the situation for Dalits in India and the oppression of African Americans in the United States in the early twentieth century, he maintained that the caste system was different because it was a product of a particular religion, Hinduism. Ambedkar argued that the surest path to destroying the caste system was to convert from the Hindu religion to Buddhism (Burguière and Grew 2001; Zelliott 2010).

Ambedkar's position can be critiqued because while it is true that the ancient origins of the caste system in India were created by the Hindu religion, Table 4.1 shows that caste discrimination against people exists in many places regardless of religion and today caste discrimination in India exists against Dalits of many religions. Although the Indian caste system began with religious ideologies and practices, discrimination and oppression of outcasts are practiced today apart from religious institutions.

Oliver Cox

Oliver Cox (1945) was also highly critical of Myrdal's conceptualization and was one of the first American scholars to explore what he believed was the distinction between race/ethnicity and caste (Butts 2004). Cox argued two main theses: that race/ethnicity was not equivalent to caste and that racial/ethnic prejudice is specifically a feature of capitalist societies. He wrote: "race relations can best be studied as a form of class exploitation; the assumption that they are caste relations is confusing and misleading" (Cox 1945, 360).

You should recall that in the first chapter we outlined a number of theoretical frameworks. One of these models is economic conflict theory, which focuses on the economy as the key factor in shaping systems of racial/ethnic inequality. Scholars from this school of thought maintain that the economic context and especially the social class system are so significant they cannot be ignored. Economic conflict theorists argue that the reforms identified by the government to end racism will not be implemented or will not be sufficient to end racial/ethnic inequality as long as social class inequality (and the system that generates social class—capitalism) remains. This part of their model is valid. However, some conflict theorists go a further step collapsing race/ethnicity into class ignoring the fact that people live their lives as not only members of a social class but as members of a racial/ethnic identity (Marable 2004).

Although the economic system is fundamental to our societies and to the emergence and persistence of racism, race/ethnicity is a social fact. Social institutions are not only embedded with social class inequality but also racial/ethnic injustice. Schools, the criminal justice system, housing markets, labor markets, religious institutions, and healthcare, for example, are all organized around not only inequities among social classes but inequities among social categories of race/ethnicity.

World Conference Against Racism

Myrdal argued that race is a form of caste. Cox argued that race is not a form of caste and that race is a function of class society. Ambedkar also asserted that race and caste are not the same and that caste is a function of a particular religious viewpoint. Although these three were writing many decades ago, their debate remains alive. In 2001, scholars and activists from all over the world came together in South Africa to develop a position on race/ethnicity for the United Nations. The conference, entitled "Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance," was popularly known as the *World Conference Against Racism* (WCAR). One important debate at the conference was around the question of how best to think about race and caste (Pinto 2001). The Indian government asserted that caste was not race and therefore was not relevant to the conference. Dalit activists presented their conceptualization of caste and why they believed that the issue of caste must be discussed by the conference against racism (Pinto 2001):

1. One of the themes of the conference, discrimination by descent, is a key aspect of the caste system.
2. Caste systems exist in many places besides India and thus are an international issue that should be discussed by international bodies.
3. Discrimination against Dalits is a violation of human rights.
4. Changes in the Indian legal system have not addressed the problem of discrimination against Dalits.
5. When a state fails to protect human lives, there is no recourse except to go to an international body such as the United Nations.

As a result of the work accomplished at the WCAR, a position different than that of Cox, Myrdal, or Ambedkar has been developed and is expressed by the documents created by the international community at the WCAR meetings. In this contemporary definition, the United Nations maintains that caste systems and the oppression of people by caste is a form of racial/ethnic discrimination. You should recall from Chapter 1 that the United Nations statement reads (United Nations 1966):

Racial discrimination shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, skin colour, *descent*, [emphasis added] or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights

and fundamental freedoms in the political economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

We can see that discrimination and abuse against Dalits fits into this definition, because the caste system identifies people as members of particular castes or outcasts on the basis of who their parents are. In a caste system, one is born into a place in the system. Descent and ancestry determines where you fit and how you will be privileged, restricted, or excluded as a result of your assignment. The WCAR analysis of caste is that race/ethnicity and caste are comparable because they both include the fundamental feature of being related to ancestry. The caste system and the human rights abuses against Dalits and others who are outcasts in caste systems, are part of the broad systems of racial/ethnic discrimination that exists in myriad forms throughout the world.

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

Hinduism; caste; Dalits; stigma; census of castes; colorism; nationalists; Prevention of Atrocities Act; National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR); World Conference Against Racism (WCAR); Poona Pact of 1932

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. This chapter presents four possible ways of thinking about caste (Cox, Myrdal, Ambedkar, and the WCAR). Which do you think is most valid? Why?
2. What tactics have Dalit activists used to make their case to the world? Which do you think are most effective? What advice would you give to Dalit activists that you think might make their work even more effective?
3. Today, the Indian government is debating whether to conduct a caste census. How did the British census in India increase discrimination against people in lower castes or against people who are outcasts? Do you think such a census will only exacerbate the gap between Dalits and people from more privileged castes? Could a census ever work to address human rights abuses against Dalits and others in caste systems?
4. Look at the section in this chapter on the doctor and the saint. What were the two sides of the argument regarding quotas in the Indian Parliament? Which position on the issue of how to address inequality in India is most valid? Gandhi's or Ambedkar's?

5



FIGURE 5.0

Government sign on beach designating it for whites only in South Africa under apartheid. The apartheid government divided the population into racial categories and then passed laws to keep them separate and unequal. (Keystone/Staff)

SEGREGATION/APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL



South African *apartheid* is often cited as one of the most highly structured systems of racial dominance ever created. During the apartheid period in the last half of the twentieth century, the South African government sought to create a perfect system for sorting people into a few race/ethnicities, legally segregating them in every aspect of human life, and maintaining dominance by one of the smallest categories, *Afrikaners*, a Southern African ethnic group descended from predominantly Dutch settlers. South African apartheid is not the only place where apartheid has existed. South African apartheid was modeled after the Jim Crow system in the United States, and legal apartheid continues to exist today in places such as Israel/Palestine.

This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first explores segregation as it was organized in South Africa during apartheid and as its legacy continues to challenge South Africans since the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid government in the 1990s. We begin by looking at the colonial history and the roots of apartheid and the resistance movement of the African National Congress in their efforts to oust the apartheid government. We then move to examining *de jure* segregation and *de facto* segregation as ways of understanding the similarities and differences between South Africa in the apartheid and postapartheid eras. Next is a discussion of the concept of false consciousness and the debate between split labor market theorists and classical Marxists about the stratification by race/ethnicity within the South African working class. The last topic in this section is the implementation of the

Truth and Reconciliation Commission and affirmative action policies in South Africa directed at addressing the damage left by apartheid.

Drawing on work from the South African Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), the second half of the chapter reviews the current discussion about apartheid in Israel/Palestine. How has the international community defined apartheid since the exposure of the system in South Africa and how well does this definition fit the current treatment of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories by the Israeli government?

THE MAKING OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Although the entire history of South Africa from the 1500s on was one of genocide, enslavement, and exploitation of Africans by Europeans, it was not until the mid-twentieth century that the government sought to create apartheid, an organized system for sorting people into a few race/ethnicities with specific rights and obligations among the different categories. The system they created between 1948 and 1994 legally segregated people from the designated race/ethnicities in every aspect of human life, and established legal dominance by one of the smallest categories, Afrikaners (Aulette-Root et al. 2014).

From the moment the Europeans arrived, they began to put into place a highly stratified society where non-Europeans were discriminated against, oppressed, and terrorized. Indigenous people, the San and Khoikhoi people, were the first to face the brutal suppression of the Europeans who began to come ashore in the early sixteenth century. The colonists carried out organized genocidal attacks, destroying the environment where hunter-gathering San people foraged, barring them from access to water sources, and shooting San men and taking women and children hostage to work as slaves. Commandos of colonial men were organized to carry out annual raids on San people in late winter and early spring when farm work was quiet and weather was cold enough to require the San to set fires for warmth; because of the smoke, this made their whereabouts more visible.

Europeans also attacked the Khoikhoi pastoralists, stealing stock, claiming grazing land and water, and murdering Khoikhoi people. The commandos were armed by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Estimates of the precolonial population of San range between 150,000 and 300,000 in the whole region of southern Africa. About

200,000 Khoikhoi lived in the area. The numbers of both of these groups, however, were decimated by genocidal colonial policies and the practice (Adhikari 2011).

Attempts to enslave the indigenous population of San and Khoikhoi people were largely unsuccessful, but Europeans believed they could not run their mines, plantations, and factories without enslaved labor. In order to address their need for workers, Europeans began to import people from other places on the continent, such as Angola and the Guinea Coast, to work as slaves in South Africa. In addition, they began to ship people from Indonesia, where the Dutch were also extending their reach around the globe in search of resources and slave labor. Thousands of skilled workers from Malaysia were brought to work as slaves in the wine vineyards and wheat fields of the Western Cape. Many of the Malaysians who were brought to South Africa were political prisoners; the punishment for those who fought against the European invaders in Malaysia was to exile them as slave labor to South Africa (Dooling 2007).

The population of people laboring as slaves grew rapidly in the Cape from 337 in 1692 to 14,747 in 1793—and then at about a 2.5 percent increase per year during the eighteenth century. About 60,000 women and men were captured in other countries and brought to the Cape between 1652 and 1807 when the slave trade was ended. By the end of the eighteenth century, there were more people from outside southern Africa working as slaves than white European settlers living in the main farming areas. About two-thirds of the enslaved population worked on agricultural plantations, while the other third resided in the city of Cape Town (Dooling, 2007; Shell 1994).

British and Dutch Vying for Control of South Africa

Throughout the colonial period, two European nations vied for power in South Africa—Britain and the Netherlands. The British were able to dominate in this struggle for many decades and after winning the Boer Wars at the end of the nineteenth century, they consolidated the entire nation of South Africa under British rule. South Africa remained a British colony until 1961. Early in the twentieth century, however, the British relinquished control to the Dutch who now called themselves Afrikaners, which is the Dutch word for African but refers specifically to people whose ancestors came from Holland.

During this time, the British were mostly interested in using South Africa as a business opportunity for trading and the extraction of

valuable resources such as gold and diamonds. Their goal was to create a colonial government that would control South Africa in order to generate the most profit for British capitalists. The Dutch also saw South Africa as a business opportunity, but they additionally wanted South Africa as a place to settle—a land to which they could move their families and establish farms.

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Dutch farmers and merchants ran the economy and claimed ownership of most of the land and the people who were enslaved. The country, however, was officially governed by the British, and when the British government abolished the slave trade in 1833, slavery became illegal throughout most of the British Empire, including South Africa. There were a number of loopholes and exemptions, however, and it was not until December 1, 1838, that all of the individuals working as slaves in South Africa were officially freed. Most of these people left the estates where they had been held captive to make their way into the South African economy as freed persons. A few of them were very successful, but most former slaves continued to live in poverty and were subjected to discrimination and brutality (Dooling 2007).

In 1910, when the British handed over governing to the Afrikaners, Louis Botha, became the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa. After his election, Botha and his National Party passed the 1910 Act of Union, creating a single nation in which only white South Africans were citizens. During the next 40 years, successive white governments passed laws further segregating and excluding all South Africans of color from economic, social, political, and physical arenas. The Natives Land Act of 1913 limited people who were “natives” (i.e., black people) access to land in the nation as a whole, and the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act established the principle that urban areas were for whites only.

Laws were passed that segregated every aspect of life. Hospitals, schools, beaches, restrooms, theaters, businesses, park benches, and sports field were designated mostly for whites only but occasionally for people of color only. Only whites could run for office or vote. Eventually, even the choice of whom to marry or even have sex with was restricted by the apartheid law. Like the Jim Crow antimiscegenation laws in the United States and the Nazi Nuremberg Laws of 1935, South African apartheid forbade extramarital interracial sex as well as intermarriage in 1948 (Frederickson 2002). The Mixed Marriages and Immorality Act nullified existing marriages between people from different racial/ethnic groups and imprisoned people who were caught having sex with someone from another racial/ethnic group.

Box 5.1 shows a list of some of the specific rules that were established under the apartheid government. The information in the box comes from apartheid government documents from the 1970s in South Africa. Six main categories show rules that pertained to the categories of Home, Family, and Residence; Movement; Work; Education; Marriage, Assembly, and Association; and Opinion and Expression.

Homelands and Removals

The rules listed in the Box 5.1 use the term *homes* when they mention punishments for people who, for example, are found to be in white areas without proper documents. As part of their implementation of segregation, the apartheid government designated geographic areas as so-called *homelands* for the different racial categories. The urban areas and the productive farmland and vineyards were assigned to white people. Black people were placed on homelands in isolated nonproductive, often desert-like areas (Butler et al 1978). In total, ten homelands were created in South Africa: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Venda, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, and QwaQwa. Each was designed for specific racial/ethnic groups. For example, if a person was of Zulu origin, they were assigned to go to KwaZulu, the homeland designated for Zulus (Hughes 2011).

In the next section, we will look at the categories the apartheid system developed for sorting people. One of these was *Coloured South Africans*. Americans view the term *colored* as derogatory. In South Africa, however, *Coloured* is an acceptable term and an identity that is embraced by many South Africans who call themselves Coloured. For centuries, Coloured people had lived primarily in the Western Cape, especially in the main city of Cape Town, but in the 1960s, they were sent to live on the outskirts of Cape Town in sand dunes. Their former community, known as District 6, was bulldozed and new housing was built on the site for white people to live in. The forced removals tore apart families and friends who had lived in close proximity for decades. Not only were people ripped from their communities and made to live in new communities alongside people they did not know, the areas that they were forced to move to were barren and far removed from the city. These areas were without decent housing and good land, and, most importantly, there were no jobs. White South Africans were then given their choice of land and properties that had once belonged to the people who had been forced to leave.

Pass Laws were enacted in these areas of displacement, and residents were required to carry and produce identity documents on

BOX 5.1

Some Examples of Apartheid Rules in South Africa in 1976 Punishable by Whippings, Fines, and Imprisonment

HOME, FAMILY, AND RESIDENCE

1. An African who was born in a town and lived there continuously for many years, but then left to reside elsewhere for any period, even two weeks, is not entitled to return to the town where he or she was born and to remain there for more than 72 hours, unless he or she has obtained a permit.
2. Any policeman for any reason at any time may inspect the dwelling occupied by a resident of townships where Africans live and may enter that dwelling at any time of the day or night.
3. No African man, even if he has been lawfully residing in a town by virtue of a permit issued to him, is entitled have his wife and children residing with him.
4. An African boy, aged 16, who has left school and lives at home with and is maintained by his parents but does not work, may, at any time, be arrested without warrant by a policeman who "has reason to believe that he is an idle person."
5. An African convicted of being in a city unlawfully for more than 72 hours may be removed, together with his or her dependents, by a policeman, to any place in a Bantu area where he or she has not lived before, and where he or she has no relatives or friends and no employment. The cost of such removal may be met from money found in his or her possession or "otherwise belonging to him [or her]."

MOVEMENT

6. Every African over the age of 16 must be in possession of a reference book (pass book). Any policeman may at any time call on any African to produce this book.

WORK

7. A white person living in a town who employs an African to do any carpentry, bricklaying, electrical fitting or the work that is classified as skilled and therefore "reserved" for members of the "white race" must have a special exemption granted by the Minister of Labor.

8. An African factory worker who calls on other workers to strike for an increase in pay commits a criminal offence punishable by a fine and/or imprisonment.
9. A white workman who is permanently totally disabled is entitled to a monthly pension based on his earnings; an African similarly disabled is entitled to a lump sum based on his earnings but not to a monthly pension.

EDUCATION

10. No white person may spend a few hours each week in his or her own home voluntarily teaching his or her African servants to read.
11. No African student can attend even a single lecture in a course at the University of Cape Town (a white university) without special permission of the Minister of Bantu Education.

MARRIAGE, ASSEMBLY, AND ASSOCIATION

12. An African is not entitled to have an African friend visit and remain with him for more than 72 hours.
13. It is unlawful for a white person and a black person to drink a cup of tea together in a café anywhere in South Africa unless they have obtained a special permit to do so.
14. Without a special permit, no African professor may deliver a lecture at a white club, even at its invitation.
15. If a black person (i.e., an Asian, a colored person, or an African) sits on a bench in a public park that has been set apart for the exclusive use of white persons, as way of protesting against the apartheid laws, he or she commits a criminal offense.
16. If a white South African or a foreigner marries a colored woman or man abroad where such marriages are lawful, the marriage is void and of no effect in South Africa and the spouses may be prosecuted if they come to South Africa.

OPINION AND EXPRESSION

17. A white person who tells a group of Africans that the apartheid laws are unjust and should be disobeyed is guilty of an offense punishable by a fine and/or imprisonment.

Source: Public Broadcasting Service. 2014. "Handout: Apartheid in Practice." http://newshour-tc.pbs.org/newshour/extra/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2014/03/safrica_apartheid.pdf, accessed February 23, 2015.

demand. Only South Africans in possession of these papers were legally allowed to move outside of the confines of their designated neighborhood. These documents were much like "tags," "passes," and "free papers" required by law for black people traveling in the United States during the 1700s and 1800s during slavery and like the recent requirements in several US states that people who appear "foreign" present Green Cards on demand.

The apartheid system, however, could not really entirely restrict people of color from going into "white areas," because their labor was required to serve the needs of whites. The system had to address the problem of providing that labor. In doing so, hierarchies within communities of color were created. All sorts of localized restrictions and rules were put in place. Legislation such as the Coloured Labour Preference Policy implemented in the 1950s, for example, gave preference to Coloured people as cheap sources of labor over black people in the textile and farming industries in the Western Cape (Salo 2005). This policy allowed only some South Africans who were not white into some areas and created layers of inequities within the apartheid system.

For example, Coloured people were permitted to live in very restricted areas within the Cape Town area. Black men, on the other hand, were even more restricted; they were allowed to live only in small hostels far away on the outskirts of the city, from which they commuted. Black women were permitted into the city as live-in domestic workers. If their labor was not required, black people were not permitted into the Western Cape at all. Black South Africans were relegated to isolated barren areas far away from the white communities, cities, and good farmland. Only a few of the people designated by the apartheid system as Asian were allowed to immigrate into the Western Cape, and most people whose ancestors had come from other Asian countries, particularly India, were confined to the provinces in eastern South Africa.

Building a System of Racial/Ethnic Segregation

The Population Registration Act of 1950 forced all South Africans into one of the four prescribed race categories (Seekings 2008, 3, quoting definition of racial categories in government documents): "a White person is one who in appearance is or who is generally accepted to be a White person but does not include a person, who although in appearance obviously a White person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person. A native is a person who is in fact or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe in Africa. A Coloured person is

a person who is not a white person, nor a native." Later a fourth category, Indian, was added, for people of South Asian descent; the label "native" was replaced by the labels "Bantu" and "Black." Racial classification was recorded in official identity documentation. In 1970, the "Black" category was further subdivided into ethnic or linguistic groups (such as Zulu and Xhosa).

According to the government, the category "Coloured" included the descendants of relationships between white and black people and the descendants of the Malaysian slaves brought from Southeast Asia. In 1970, Khoikhoi and San people, the indigenous peoples who had lived in South Africa before the arrival of black people a few thousand years ago or white people a few hundred years ago and did not speak "Bantu" languages were added to the category of "Coloured." The term *Bantu* is now considered derogatory.

In addition to the convoluted, complex, and irrational categorization of South Africans into the system, one's category might vary over time. Under the apartheid system, people were reclassified from one category to another every year. In 1984, for example, according to the British Broadcasting Corporation (n.d.):

- 518 Coloured people were redefined as White
- 2 whites were renamed Chinese
- 1 white was reclassified Indian
- 1 white became Coloured
- 89 Coloured people were reclassified as African

DE JURE AND DE FACTO SEGREGATION

The South African apartheid system was similar to, and in fact was modeled after, the Jim Crow system of apartheid in the United States. It was a complex legal system that sought to identify racial categories and to isolate the members of each group from others. The system was also hierarchical in terms of access to goods and services, power, and social and political rights, with white people at the top, black people at the bottom, and Coloured people and Indians somewhere in between. The structure of the system in its character, complexity, and pervasiveness, and its grounding in the law make it very similar to the Jim Crow laws in the United States.

However, the two systems vary in two important ways. First, the distinctions among the different racial/ethnic groups are different in the two countries. The American system was based on the "one drop rule," which designated anyone with any "Negro blood" as a Negro; identified Native Americans by tribe rather than ancestry; and vaguely referred to Asian Americans, sometimes by nationality (their own or their ancestors) and sometimes as a homogenous group (Hochschild and Weaver 2007). The South African system had different categories: black, white, Coloured, and Indian (referring to people whose ancestors came from India). It placed people in categories on the basis of appearance.

Second, white people in the United States dominated numerically over people of color. (the Jim Crow system was a form of majority rule.) In South Africa, people of color are overwhelmingly in the majority; only about 13% of the population is white.

Apartheid in South Africa and Jim Crow laws in the United States were similar in that they were both *de jure* systems that were abolished, leaving behind *de facto* systems of segregation. In a *de jure* system, people are separated into categories and forced to abide by restrictions on every aspect of their lives by law. The government in both countries endorsed, implemented, and required people to live segregated lives.

Jim Crow laws were made illegal in the United States in the 1960s, and apartheid was made illegal in South Africa in the 1990s. *De jure* segregation was abolished. *De facto* segregation, discrimination, and oppression, however, still remain problems in both places. *De facto* segregation means that it is not necessarily explicitly part of the law but remains, nevertheless, an important aspect of social organization.

MAINTAINING THE APARTHEID SYSTEM

In the United States and in South Africa, debate has centered around the question of who benefited from the maintenance of the apartheid system and who was instrumental in maintaining the system. Among scholars, this debate has been posed between classical Marxists and split labor market theorists. Classical Marxism is an example of an economic conflict theory we reviewed in Chapter 1. Classical Marxists emphasize the tensions between social classes, especially between wealthy owners of land, factories, and mines, and the workers they employ (Marx and Engels [1848] 1969). Marxists would argue that the apartheid system ultimately benefited the wealthy owners and that the

owners were most responsible for the maintenance of the system. The inequality among workers by race/ethnicity—among white, black, and Coloured people—would be perceived as a way to divide and conquer the working class. Those white and Coloured working class people who defended the divisions and their relatively privileged position would be seen as having *false consciousness* about their real place in the system. That is, their ideas about the way the world works and their place in class society do not fit their long-term interests and result in their working against themselves (Engels [1893] 1968; Marcuse 1964).

Split labor market theory is more akin to critical race theory we reviewed in Chapter 1. Split labor market theorists argue that both race and class can be equally important (Bonacich 1972, 1976). They emphasize the way in which the labor market is divided into two tiers: jobs that are better paid, more secure, and more respected, and others which are the less desirable and lower paid. Split labor market theorists assert that the wealthy owners benefited the most from the maintenance of the system. They also argue, however, that those white and even Coloured working-class people who held jobs that were better paid and more respected also benefited from the system and were responsible for its maintenance. Within this framework, the support that working-class whites and Coloured people provided for the maintenance of apartheid was not a matter of false consciousness. Rather, it was a rational decision to continue a system in which they had at least some privileges over other workers in the system. Look at Box 5.1 rule #9 for an example of the kinds of privileges granted to some (white) workers.

THE REVOLUTION TO ABOLISH APARTHEID

Apartheid was abolished in 1994, and everyone in South Africa was granted the right to vote. The African National Congress (ANC) won the vote by an overwhelming victory, and Nelson Mandela was elected president. A tripartite alliance between the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and the Coalition of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) had won the military and political battle against apartheid and began to build a new South Africa. The nation began to undo the decades of apartheid and centuries of injustice by writing a new constitution, dismantling the laws of the apartheid government, and establishing new ways of organizing the society. In addition, they set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission with Archbishop Desmond Tutu as chair. Box 5.2 explains what these tribunals were and how they

BOX 5.2

International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (Articles I to II)

ARTICLE I

1. The States Parties to the present Convention declare that apartheid is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, as defined in article II of the Convention, are crimes violating the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security.
2. The States Parties to the present Convention declare criminal those organizations, institutions and individuals committing the crime of apartheid.

ARTICLE II

For the purpose of the present Convention, the term "the crime of apartheid," which shall include similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practised in southern Africa, shall apply to the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them:

- (a) Denial to a member or members of a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of person:
 - (i) By murder of members of a racial group or groups;
 - (ii) By the infliction upon the members of a racial group or groups of serious bodily or mental harm, by the infringement of their freedom or dignity, or by subjecting them to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
 - (iii) By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups;

were received in South Africa and other places that have survived devastating injustice, violence, and wars.

The ANC had emerged in the early twentieth century as a political organization aimed at seeking social equality and justice for black South Africans. As the apartheid government intensified its

- (b) Deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (c) Any legislative measures and other measures calculated to prevent a racial group or groups from participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the deliberate creation of conditions preventing the full development of such a group or groups, in particular by denying to members of a racial group or groups basic human rights and freedoms, including the right to work, the right to form recognized trade unions, the right to education, the right to leave and to return to their country, the right to a nationality, the right to freedom of movement and residence, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association;
- (d) Any measures including legislative measures, designed to divide the population along racial lines by the creation of separate reserves and ghettos for the members of a racial group or groups, the prohibition of mixed marriages among members of various racial groups, the expropriation of landed property belonging to a racial group or groups or to members thereof;
- (e) Exploitation of the labour of the members of a racial group or groups, in particular by submitting them to forced labour;
- (f) Persecution of organizations and persons, by depriving them of fundamental rights and freedoms, because they oppose apartheid.

ARTICLE III

International criminal responsibility shall apply, irrespective of the motive involved, to individuals, members of organizations and institutions and representatives of the State, whether residing in the territory of the State in which the acts are perpetrated or in some other State, whenever they:

- (a) Commit, participate in, directly incite or conspire in the commission of the acts mentioned in article II of the present Convention;
- (b) Directly abet, encourage or cooperate in the commission of the crime of apartheid.

Source: United Nations. 1976. *International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid*. "Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 30, 1973 <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201015/volume-1015-I-14861-English.pdf>."

efforts to maintain a segregated and abusive system, the ANC stepped up its organizing and by the 1960s had created an armed military wing to confront police and military brutality. The ANC, under the leadership of people such as Mandela along with Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Denis

Goldberg, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni, became the main force against the apartheid government. Although Mandela was imprisoned from 1964 until 1990, he remained a central political force in the movement against apartheid. In the 1990s, he was able to negotiate the end of apartheid and the unbanning of the ANC. He then was elected to serve as president of South Africa from 1994 to 1999. The ANC has continued to dominate national politics since then (Nelson Mandela Foundation 2015).

The battle to end apartheid did not come easily. Like civil rights activists in the 1960s in the United States, antiapartheid activists faced police brutality, state violence, and imprisonment. They also had to contend with international forces that had sought to preserve or at least tolerate South African apartheid government.

BOX 5.3

Truth and Reconciliation

South African apartheid left a legacy of inequality, human rights abuses, torture, and murder. But from those ashes, something else emerged and that is a process for trying to heal the wounds and to allow people to move forward after the tragedies created by racism: the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)*. After the revolution ended in South Africa, the TRC was set up (1) to recognize the crimes against humanity that had been committed, (2) to create a space in which people could come together to acknowledge and grieve those crimes, and (3) to seek forgiveness (Verdoolaege 2009).

When the Second World War ended, the Allies, who had defeated Nazi Germany, put the perpetrators of the genocide that occurred at their hands on trial in the city of Nuremberg. Those who had committed crimes against humanity were imprisoned or executed. South Africa chose a different way to deal with those who had committed crimes against humanity during apartheid. Instead, they set up the TRC, which is based on a restorative model of justice rather than the retributive form of the Nuremberg trials. **Retributive justice** focuses on punishment.

Restorative justice gives victims an active role and focuses on repairing the harm done and the possibility of forgiveness. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a leader in the Commission and a witness at the meetings of victims and perpetrators of violence during apartheid maintains that “the restorative justice reflects a fundamental and venerable *African* value of healing and nurturing social relationships at the expense

Many Americans believe that the United States is a global leader in standing up against injustice around the world. South Africa provides an example of how this characterization is not entirely accurate. In 1973, governments around the world signed the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Box 5.3 presents part of the convention explaining what they saw as the problem and what they believed should be the consequences of creating and maintaining apartheid. The United States was not a signatory. When Ronald Reagan took office in 1980s the United States government actively took the side of the apartheid government in South Africa. Reagan believed that although the system was unjust, the United States should continue to support the South African government because it offered many business opportunities for American entrepreneurs (Elliott 2011).

of exacting vengeance, of nothing less than a quality of humane sociality: Ubuntu" (Avruch and Vejarano 2001, 40).

According to Tutu, *ubuntu* "speaks to the very essence of being human," signaling that "we belong to a bundle of life," and that "harmony, friendliness, community are great goods." Tutu wrote (1999) in *No Future Without Forgiveness*, "my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in yours," and "a person is a person through other persons." In contrast to the Western idea "I think therefore I am," Tutu maintains that the African concept of *ubuntu* says, "I am human because I belong" (Tutu 1999, 31).

The TRC in South Africa called on people to come forward with their stories of apartheid and especially the human rights abuses that resulted from the military and police actions of the apartheid government as they sought to defend and preserve the system. Their stories were recorded and witnessed by the TRC. The perpetrators of the crime were called forward to offer means to repair the harm done and to ask for forgiveness. The TRC then decided whether to accept the effort at reconciliation and grant the perpetrators amnesty or to allow the perpetrator to be prosecuted. There are many stories of deeply moving incidents of both truth and reconciliation. But there also many people for whom this process was not satisfactory.

The notion and practice of TRCs is one that is rooted in the global South but it has influenced people in the global North as well. Since the creation of the South African TRC, many other nations have followed suit, setting up their own TRCs around the world in South America, Central America, Europe, and Africa (VanAntwerpen 2011).

Reagan called his support of the apartheid government *constructive engagement*. He argued that although he did not agree with apartheid policies, he believed that the best way to reform the system was to continue to support the South African government and the South African economy by maintaining international investment in business in South Africa. Margaret Thatcher's administration controlled the United Kingdom during this same time period, and many people have written about the close relationship between Thatcher and Reagan. Thatcher, like Reagan, was slow to condemn the South African apartheid government (Elliot 2011).

Although the American government, under the leadership of the Reagan administration, supported the apartheid government in South Africa, not all Americans agreed. Many civil rights activists in the United States abhorred the government's position and organized rallies and protests demanding an end to support of apartheid and calling for divestiture of investments in the apartheid economy. University students were an important part of this movement, and their call to boycott South African businesses and especially their demand that their universities divest themselves of investments in companies located in South Africa were a critical part of the protests that eventually helped to end the support of the apartheid government by the US government. In the next section, we will review the situation in Israel/Palestine, which is increasingly coming under international criticism for its apartheid policies. Calling for divestment of Israeli companies is a key tactic in these activities (Roche and Harrity 2015).

BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY

Apartheid had restricted and suppressed the ability of people of color to develop their skills and accumulate wealth to build their own businesses for centuries (Butler, 2004). As part of their efforts to rebuild their postapartheid society, South Africa began to introduce laws that support education and employment of formerly excluded people in order to improve income equality and increase the number of people of color who manage, own, and control the country's economy (Arya and Bassi 2011).

A key policy in this endeavor is the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003, commonly known as BEE. The policy sets up Codes of Good Practice, which are designed to increase principled behavior by South African businesses, state and public entities, and

employers. The codes are legally binding, and organizations must report their compliance in achieving goals in seven target areas: management, employment equity, skills development, ownership, preferential procurement, enterprise development, and social investment. The first three indicators refer to practices within companies and organizations that seek to hire, promote and train people who had been excluded from these opportunities during apartheid. Goals are set and organizations must report what they have achieved in attaining them. The other four indicators are externally oriented and refer to the broader societal impact of corporations on the economy and society.

Critics of BEE argue that it is raced based rather than class based and primarily aimed at creating and assisting a black elite and will do little to benefit the poor. Defenders believe that the approach taken to develop industry-level charters and the Codes of Good Practice will benefit the poor and reduce the apartheid legacy of inequality (Hamann 2006, Jeffrey 2013). Recent research provides some evidence from firms operating in South Africa that BEE is working on the side of greater equality. Businesses are contributing to these expansive goals by means of their activities in the workplace, along their supply chains, and by engaging in social investment activities (Arya and Bassi 2011). All South Africans know, however, that a great deal of work remains (Jeffrey 2013).

APARTHEID IN ISRAEL

Although *de jure* segregation has been abolished in South Africa and the United States, legal systems of apartheid still exist in other countries. Israel is one place that has recently gained notoriety regarding its laws about Jewish and non-Jewish (largely Palestinian) people living in Israel and Israeli controlled areas in Palestine. The Israeli government increasingly is creating policies and laws that identify people as either Jews or non-Jews and restricts the rights non-Jews have and where they can live and work (Berger et al. 2010; Duggard 2007).

Within the boundaries of the state of Israel, three areas are designated as Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT): the West Bank, the Gaza strip, and East Jerusalem. How did this arrangement come about? Palestinian Arabs are the descendants of the indigenous people of Palestine who lived alongside other Arab populations and ancient Jewish communities for centuries in an Arab/Islamic empire. The Empire fell in the early twentieth century and from the end of the First

World War until the end of the Second World War, the British controlled an area that stretched from Iraq to Jordan to Palestine. The territory was named the British Mandate for Palestine. In 1947, the British gave up their mandate, and the United Nations divided the area into two sections. Fifty-five percent of the land was to become the state of Israel, and 45 percent was designated as the Palestinian Arab state, with Jerusalem to be left under international control. Immediately after the partitioning, war broke out between Israel and several Arab populations and nations, including Palestine. Israel won the war, allowing them to extend their borders and incorporate an additional 23 percent of the territory. Palestinians were left with about 22 percent of what had been historic Palestine (Bennis 2007; Berger et al. 2010). During and immediately after this war, about 750,000 Palestinians (60 percent of the total population) who had been living in the area now claimed by Israel were forced to leave. About 1.4 million or so (12 percent of the total Palestinian population of 11.8 million in the world) Palestinians who currently live in Israel were from the families that stayed (Bennis 2007). Thirty-eight percent of the world's Palestinians live in the OPT, Gaza, and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Palestinians in exile make up the remaining 50 percent (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics 2014).

In 1967, another war erupted between Israel and several Arab populations and nations, including Palestine; again Israel won, allowing it to further extend its borders. As a result of the war, Israel also began to occupy the OPT. Since then, Israel has controlled the OPT and movement in and out of the territories. In addition, Jewish settlers from Israel have moved into the OPT to create settlements there (Nicholson 1999). About 650,000 Jewish settlers now live in the OPT (Rudoren and Ashkenas 2015).

Jewish people have had a presence in Israel for millennia. Present-day Israel, however, is a land of mostly Jewish immigrants. Jewish people began to move to the area more than a century ago, but most of them came after the British Mandate ended and Israel was established as a state in 1948. Their numbers continue to grow through a policy called the Law of Return, which grants Jewish people from anywhere in the world the right to claim Israeli citizenship and come to live in Israel and receive support from the government such as housing, welfare benefits, and job placement. These rights are not granted to people who are not Jewish, not even to Palestinians who wish to return to the land in Israel from which they were forced to flee because of wars and repression (Bennis 2007).

Critics of Israel argue that “over the past 47 years of occupation, Israel has illegally confiscated more and more Palestinian land; built an apartheid wall; systematically denied Palestinians basic human and civil rights and engaged in state-sponsored violence; and forced the Palestinians in Gaza to live in appalling conditions that make it increasingly impossible to survive. Israel’s latest bombing campaign, Operation Protective Edge, has killed over 1,900 Palestinians, at least 450 of whom are children, and has displaced hundreds of thousands more” (Nevel 2014). These kinds of criticisms have increasingly become a concern in the international community, and the United Nations began to report annually on the conditions of life for Palestinians in 2010. In 2015, they reported that in 2014, in Gaza alone, 9,465 Palestinian houses had been destroyed, another 9,644 had been severely damaged, and 98,421 had been partially damaged (United Nations 2015).

Many people all over the world are concerned about these issues, but because of their history, South Africans have been especially determined to find out if apartheid is being practiced and what can be done to end it. In a speech given soon after he became president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela stated (Mandela 1997):

When in 1977, the United Nations passed the resolution inaugurating the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people, it was asserting the recognition that injustice and gross human rights violations were being perpetrated in Palestine. In the same period, the UN took a strong stand against [South African] apartheid; and over the years, an international consensus was built, which helped to bring an end to this iniquitous system.

But we know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians; without the resolution of conflicts in East Timor, the Sudan and other parts of the world. We are proud as a government, and as the overwhelming majority of South Africans to be part of an international consensus taking root that the time has come to resolve the problems of Palestine.

A team of international scholars commissioned by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa sought to investigate the criticisms being leveled at Israel in order to answer the question of whether apartheid exists in Israel/Palestine (Tilley 2012). HSRC’s

study concluded that Israel is an occupying government in the OPT and that several factors indicate that the occupation has many trademarks of apartheid. Using the definitions of the crime of apartheid outlined in Box 5.3, the HSRC (HSRC 2009, 17-18) identifies the following practices in Israel as fitting the definition of the organization of apartheid. In addition, subsequent research reveals that the practices have continued (Human Rights Watch 2016).

- Article II(a)—the denial of the right to life and liberty of person. Israel's policies and practices against Palestinian dissent include murder, in the form of extrajudicial killings; torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment of detainees; and arbitrary arrest and detention of Palestinians without charge or trial and harsher standards and penalties for Palestinians. For example, a Palestinian arrested in the West Bank, part of the OPT, on suspicion of manslaughter may be detained for up to eight days before being brought before a military judge in a military court, where the precharge detention may be extended indefinitely. Because Palestinians in the OPT are subject to military criminal legislation, such a prisoner can face a maximum penalty of a life sentence. In contrast, an Israeli settler living in the OPT who is arrested on the same grounds must be brought, within 24 hours, before a civilian judge in a civilian court for charges and faces a penalty of up to 20 years imprisonment.
- Article II(c)—prevention of a racial group from participation in the political, social, economic, and cultural life of the country and prevention of the full development of a group through the denial of basic human rights and freedoms
 1. In the West Bank, Palestinian rights to freedom of movement are regularly restricted. Checkpoints, separate roads, and permit and identification systems apply solely to Palestinians who are not allowed to visit the other territories and are not allowed to enter East Jerusalem without a pass. In Gaza, access to the outside has become extremely limited since the HSRC report. Chris Gunness, spokesman for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East explains: "But the majority of the crossings into Gaza are through Israel. The Rafah crossing—I've been through it—is a single road in one direction. A very narrow road, actually. And a very narrow single road in the other

direction. It is not a crossing through which you would want to mount a major import-export or aid operation to 1.8 million people" (Klippenstein 2015). The lack of roads means that it is impossible to rebuild the devastated economy or even to bring in international aid for the Palestinians who live there. And the Palestinians who live there are in desperate need of a functioning economy after years of destruction from war and an Israeli imposed blockade. Today, 800,000 Palestinians rely on food aid, and 90 percent of the water is undrinkable (Klippenstein 2015).

2. Palestinians are restricted in the areas in which they are allowed to live in East Jerusalem. In addition, Palestinian spouses are prevented from living together on the basis of which part of the OPT they originate from, and by the rules of the permit and identification systems.
3. Palestinians are denied the right to leave and return to their country.

In 1948, thousands of Palestinian refugees were forced to move from the territory, which is now the state of Israel and are now living in the OPT. They and their descendants, who amount to about 1.8 million people, are not allowed to return to their former places of residence (Kadman 2015). In addition, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were displaced from the West Bank and Gaza Strip to countries surrounding Israel during the 1967 war and have not been allowed to return to the OPT or to Israel.

Palestinian residents of the OPT must obtain Israeli permission to leave the OPT. In the Gaza Strip, especially since 2006, this permission is almost always denied, even for educational or medical purposes. Many Palestinians who traveled or lived abroad have had their OPT residence identification cards revoked and been prohibited from returning.

4. Palestinians are restricted in their right to work through Israeli policies that severely curtail Palestinian agriculture and industry in the OPT, restrict exports and imports, and impose obstacles that prevent access to agricultural land and travel for employment and business. For example, Palestinians who live in the OPT and have been granted permits to work in Israel must leave their homes at 1 a.m. in order to have time to pass through the checkpoints on their way to work.

Palestinian unemployment in the OPT is now nearly 50% (World Bank 2014b).

5. Palestinian trade unions exist but are not recognized by the Israeli government or by the Histadrut (the main Israeli trade union) and cannot effectively represent Palestinians working for Israeli employers and businesses.
6. Israeli policy does not directly affect the right of Palestinians who live in the OPT to education because Israel does not operate the school system in the OPT, but education is severely impeded in the OPT by Israeli military rule. Israeli military actions have included extensive school closures, direct attacks on schools, severe restrictions on movement, and arrests and detention of teachers and students. Israel's denial of exit permits has prevented hundreds of students in the Gaza Strip from continuing their education abroad.

Furthermore, Israeli laws do directly affect the education of Palestinians in the West Bank where a segregated school system operates in which Palestinians are not allowed to attend government-funded schools in Jewish settlements within the OPT.

7. The right of Palestinians to freedom of opinion and expression is restricted through censorship laws enforced by the Israeli military authorities and endorsed by the High Court of Justice. Since 2001, the Israeli Government Press Office has greatly limited Palestinian press accreditation. Journalists are regularly restricted from entering the Gaza Strip. Palestinian journalists suffer from patterns of harassment, detention, confiscation of materials and have even been killed.
8. Palestinians' right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association is impeded through military orders. Military legislation bans public gatherings of ten or more persons without a permit from the Israeli military commander.

Nonviolent demonstrations are regularly suppressed by the Israeli army. In the West Bank in 2014, for example, 1,112 Palestinians were injured by live ammunition, 2,602 by rubber-coated steel bullets, and 1,486 by tear gas (United Nations 2015). Most Palestinian political parties have been declared illegal and institutions associated with those parties, such as charities and cultural organizations, are regularly attacked or forced to close.

9. The prevention of full development in the OPT and participation of Palestinians in political, economic, social, and cultural life is most starkly demonstrated by the effects of Israel's ongoing siege and regular large-scale military attacks on the Gaza Strip, resulting in a persistent severe humanitarian crisis. For example, in 2014, in the Gaza Strip, more than 1,500 Palestinian civilians were killed, more than 11,000 injured, and some 100,000 remain displaced (United Nations 2015).
- Article 2(d) division of the population along racial lines:
 1. Israel has divided the West Bank into reserves or cantons in which residence and entry is determined by each individual's group identity. Entry by one group into the zone of the other group is prohibited without a permit. The Wall and its infrastructure of gates and permanent checkpoints suggest a policy of permanently dividing the West Bank into racial/ethnic cantons.
 2. Israel has extensively appropriated Palestinian land in the OPT for exclusively Jewish use. Private Palestinian land comprises about 30 percent of the land unlawfully appropriated for Jewish settlement in the West Bank. Presently, 38 percent of the West Bank is completely closed to Palestinian use, with significant restrictions on access to much of the rest of it (Human Rights Watch 2016). This includes land taken by military bases as well as the houses, shops, and farmlands of the settlements themselves. Today, about a half a million Israeli settlers live in settlements across the West Bank and occupied East Jerusalem, in contravention of international law (Maschinot 2015).

The South African HSRC concluded that Israel's practices in the OPT are not identical to the South African system of apartheid, but they have the same three *pillars of apartheid* that were fundamental to apartheid in South Africa. The first pillar refers to the laws and policies that establish Jewish identity for purposes of law and afford a preferential legal status and material benefits to Jews over non-Jews. The 1950 *Law of Return* defines who is a Jew for purposes of the law and allows every Jewish person to immigrate to Israel or the OPT. The 1952 Citizenship Law then grants automatic citizenship to people who immigrate under the Law of Return. At the same time, Palestinian refugees who were forced to leave or even those who have chosen to travel are not allowed

to return. Two separate and unequal categories of people living under two separate and unequal sets of laws and rights have been created.

The second pillar is the physical segregation of Jews and Palestinians by extensive appropriation of Palestinian land and the restrictions of travel by walls, separate roads, and checkpoints, as well as a web of permit and identification systems. These combine to ensure that Palestinians remain confined to the reserves designated for them. Israeli Jews are prohibited from entering those reserves but enjoy freedom of movement throughout the rest of the Palestinian territory. Much like the homelands of South Africa, the physical segregation includes not only isolation of each group from the other but restriction of the subordinate group to those areas with the least access to schools, jobs, hospitals, and even water (HSRC 2009).

The third pillar of Israel's system of apartheid in the OPT is its security laws and policies. The extrajudicial killing; torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of Palestinians, are all justified by Israel as necessary to their security. Like the police and armies of the South African apartheid regime, Israel harshly suppresses dissent as a way to control the Palestinians and to maintain the status quo (HSRC 2009).

But, isn't apartheid a system of specifically racial oppression? Is the oppression of Palestinians by the Israeli government a question of race? The HSRC (2009, 157) answers this question by arguing that "the question for this study is not whether Jews and Palestinians are 'races' in the older (discredited) sense [referring to biological ideas about race we reviewed in Chapter 2] but whether Jews and Palestinians in the OPT comprise 'racial groups' in their local relation to each other, in the sense of the Apartheid Convention: that is, groups in a relationship of domination, for which membership is understood to be acquired by birth and thus is experienced as immutable and incontestable for their members."

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

Afrikaners; apartheid; homelands; Coloured South Africans; pass laws; de jure segregation; de facto segregation; split labor market theory; false consciousness; ANC; Nelson Mandela; constructive engagement; BEE; TRC; restorative justice; retributive justice; *ubuntu*; OPT; pillars of apartheid; Law of Return

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Two forms of apartheid are described in this chapter: the system that existed in South Africa in the last half of the twentieth century and the system that persists in Israel and the OPT. What do you see as the similarities and differences between these two systems?
2. The South African apartheid system was based on the belief that humans can be sorted into distinct biological categories. What kinds of difficulties did the proponents of apartheid have in creating their system of racial inequality? How do those difficulties relate to the essential flaw in biological arguments about race?
3. What is the difference between de jure segregation and de facto segregation? Which one do you think is more difficult to change?
4. What do you think of the idea of truth and reconciliation? Do you think retributive or restorative justice is more effective in cases such as South Africa?

6

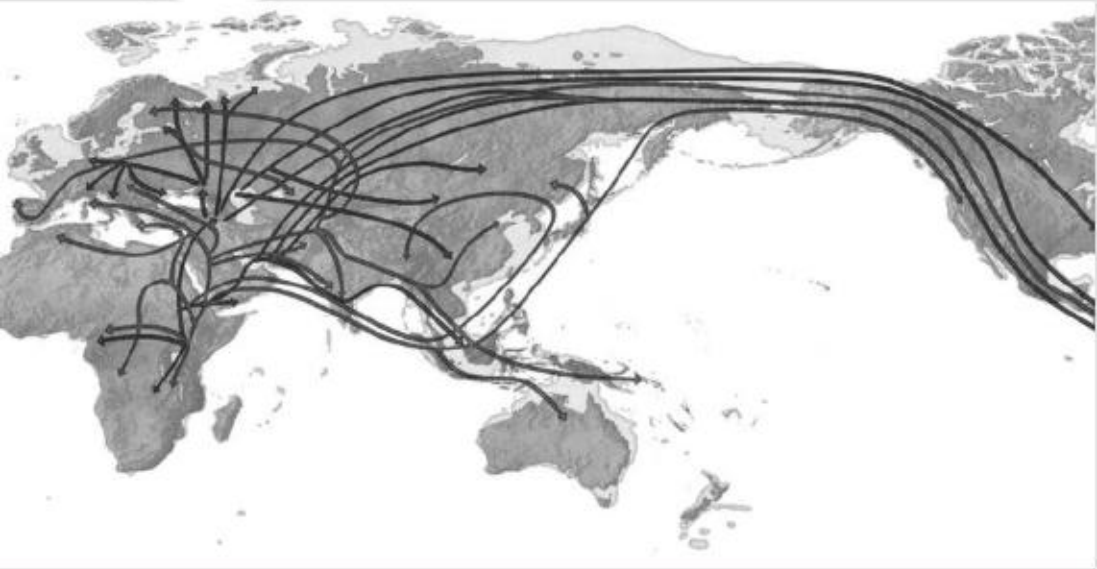


FIGURE 6.0

Migration routes of early humans. Humans have been migrating first out of Africa and then around the world to populate the planet for hundreds of thousands of years. The map shows that the first humans originated in eastern Africa and moved south and west across the continent and north into Europe. They then traveled east toward Asia and across the Bering Straits into the Western Hemisphere. (Mikkel Juul Jensen/Science Source)

MIGRATION, RACIAL/ ETHNIC MINORITIES, AND INJUSTICE



Humans have been migrating for thousands of years, ever since the species emerged in Africa and began to move north away from the continent to travel and settle all over the world. This photograph shows what anthropologists believe were the earliest migration routes.

In this book, we have already looked at several forms of migration. Europeans migrated to the Western Hemisphere, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia to establish colonial empires in places such as Ghana, Brazil, Haiti, Palestine, South Africa, and India. Africans were forced to migrate when they were kidnapped and taken to Europe and the Western Hemisphere in the transatlantic slave trade. People from central, western, and eastern Africa migrated to southern Africa to settle and establish Zulu and Xhosa communities. This chapter looks closely at more examples of migration, and it focuses on the ways in which migration creates social relationships and arrangements that generate tensions among the different groups who find themselves living alongside each other.

Although there are important differences in the ways in which colonialism shaped migration and the ways in which current neocolonial pressures shape present-day migration, there are also similarities. Most striking of these similarities is power. Powerful people, institutions, and nations in both the colonial and neo-colonial periods create the social context and social policies that determine the choices migrating people make and the issues they will face as racial/ethnic minorities in their host country.

The chapter begins with a discussion of middleman minorities created during the colonial period when people from places in the British Empire migrated to other colonized nations. This section includes a discussion of theoretical frameworks that have been developed to understand the concept of middleman minorities. We also look at some of the contrasting social policies designed in recent years, particularly in Malaysia and Indonesia, to try to address the inequities left behind by migration in the colonial era. We then examine the recent immigration of people from the colonial British Empire to the United Kingdom and the debate around the concept of multiculturalism as a goal to address the problems faced by racial/ethnic minorities today in Britain.

Next, we explore the ways in which globalization in recent years has intensified the pressures to migrate and as a result has increased the numbers of racial/ethnic minorities and the problems they face. All this has made migration a central feature of racial/ethnic injustice in the world today. We examine transnational migration patterns by looking at economic and political forces, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), that “push” people from one nation to another, creating devastating problems for those who migrate, such as being forced to work without documentation and subsequently being deported. We will also look at what Arlie Hochschild (2000) has called global chains of care—being forced to leave behind one’s own children and family in order to care for other people’s children in another country.

COLONIALISM AND THE CREATION OF MIDDLEMAN MINORITIES

Racial/ethnic minorities are groups of people who live in a nation dominated by one particular racial/ethnic group. Other groups, particularly people who are perceived as outsiders, are discriminated against and barred from access to the jobs, houses, education, and healthcare afforded to those in the dominant group. They are also often subjects of violence from individuals as well as from state-authorized institutions such as the police, the courts, and the prisons. One kind of racial/ethnic minority is middleman minorities.

In Chapter 3, we explored the way in which colonial powers used the idea of tribalism as a way to create divisions among various population groups in order to control people in West Africa. In this chapter, we will look at another technique used by the British to strengthen their position and assert political dominance in the British Empire in places such as Malaysia, Indonesia, and China (Pluss 2005; Stark 2006). This technique involved the recruitment (often forced) of people from other parts of the British Empire to come to Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, and Hong Kong to live and work and operate as middleman buffers between local people and British officials.

Middleman minorities are tradespeople and small business owners who have immigrated to a nation to serve as intermediaries between ruling and subordinate groups (Douglas and Saenz 1999). Middleman minorities include groups such as Jews in Europe, Chinese in Southeast Asia, Indians in Africa, and Parsis in India. Middleman minorities occupy a unique position of intermediate status because they operate between the elite and the masses—between (1) the owners of businesses, mines, and factories and (2) the workers and consumers. During colonial times, middleman minorities operated between the colonial powers and the people they were colonizing. Because they often continued to live in those societies but remained socially isolated and apart from the people native to the country, these middlemen came to find themselves racial/ethnic minorities.

Middleman minorities often arrive as destitute immigrants, who own nothing and are barely able to speak or understand even a few words of the dominant language of the country. They may have begun at the petty level of a peddler with packs on their backs, little pushcarts, convenience stores, or takeaway restaurants (Bonacich 1973). Despite their poor status when they first arrive, they sometimes become the most successful racial/ethnic groups in a society—what Chua (2002) calls a “market-dominant” ethnic minority.

Middleman minorities are characterized by occupations that provide services and are concentrated in small family-owned businesses, which are often marked by strong racial/ethnic cohesion. Although they are, of course, not always successful, the middleman minorities that are able to build their businesses are aided by the economic context, which allows them to dominate in the markets of their own ethnic groups. They provide services geared to that group and work with suppliers and other support businesses within the community.

If they do succeed, middleman minorities are frequently subjected to prejudice and hostility from the host community, who may perceive the rise of the middleman from poverty to relative prosperity as a having unfairly acquired their wealth at the expense of those in the host community. When middleman minorities are successful, they come into conflict with various sectors of the dominant culture. Entrepreneurs from the host country may find it difficult to compete with the cheap (and sometimes free) family labor of immigrant business owners. The customers of middleman minority businesses may resent the owners' refusal to hire community people and their apparent lack of commitment to the community because they are perceived to be sojourners (Douglas and Saenz 1999). *Sojourners* are people who move to another country for a limited amount of time with the intention of returning home.

Indians in Uganda and Hong Kong

Some middleman minorities come to their host countries by their own choice, although those choices may be narrowly constricted by problems in their own countries. Some middleman minorities in the colonial period, however, were purposefully brought from one corner of the British Empire to another. Indian shopkeepers who live in Uganda represent one example of this kind of forced immigration. In the 1800s Britain outlawed slavery, but another form of servitude emerged to take its place—imported indentured labor. Thousands of workers were brought from India to East Africa to replace slaves. Indentured servants were made to serve a specific length of time, and they could not be bought and sold. The conditions of their lives, however, were similar in most other ways to enslaved workers. Once the indentured workers had completed their service, some returned to India, but many stayed in Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya and set up small businesses. By the 1970s, some Indian families had become quite successful. In 1972, Idi Amin, the notoriously violent president of Uganda, claimed that the Uganda economy was controlled by the Indian shopkeepers and ordered that all Asians were to be expelled and their property confiscated (Kuper 1981; Rustomji 2014).

Other Indians were moved from one British colony to another in order to not only provide labor but to play the role of buffer between British elite and the communities they were colonizing. For example, the British brought Indians to Hong Kong to play a number of middleman roles as entrepreneurs and security forces. They were given certain

privileges for their work in Hong Kong that were not given to the local people.

Some Parsi Indians, for instance, were given licenses to sell alcohol, which Chinese merchants were not allowed to sell. As a result, a number of Parsi Indians became wealthy importers of wine in Hong Kong. Because they spoke English, Parsis were also better able to obtain educations and become teachers, physicians, and engineers. These jobs were less attainable for Chinese, who had to learn English as well as the skills associated with the professions (Pluss 2005).

Sikh Indians were brought to Hong Kong to serve in the police and army. The British had been impressed with the work of Sikhs in previous armed confrontation. Well known as soldiers, Sikhs historically had been members of a warrior caste because their religion had originally been founded as the defenders of Hindus from northern Muslim invaders. The British had been unsuccessful in building a police force to their satisfaction with Chinese constables and decided that inviting Sikhs in to do the work was the solution. The Sikhs welcomed the well-paid work. However, their lives were not easy in China; they were barred by law from marrying Chinese women and were not allowed to bring their own families with them from India (Pluss 2005).

Douglas and Saenz (1999) write that "... due to continued antagonism from the host society some middleman minority groups remain perpetual middlemen, maintaining their sojourner intentions and residential separation." The isolation that began because of differences in language or religion may become exacerbated by the tensions between middlemen and local populations. The resentment of the host country's inhabitants is further reinforced by the roles played by middleman minorities as shopkeepers and service providers. As retailers in poor neighborhoods, they may be seen as exploiting the community by having a captive market and charging high prices. Middleman groups may also be perceived as drains on the host country if they send their earnings back home (Bonacich 1973). As a result of these perceptions, at times of political distress, middleman minorities have been targeted victims of boycotts, riots, expulsions, and genocides.

Bonacich's Theory of Middleman Minorities

Edna Bonacich (1973) wrote the classic article on the theory of middleman minorities. She argues that middleman minorities begin with an identity as a sojourner, someone who is staying only temporarily. As the middlemen remain in their host country generation after generation,

they eventually may relinquish the idea that they are just passing through but continue to retain an identity as stranger. Their isolation is both a result of their desire to hold on to their culture as well as a result of the racial/ethnic discrimination they experience from individuals and public policies that identify them as outsiders.

In the case of British colonialism, middleman minorities were purposefully created and used as a tool for the advance of the colonial empire. In the nineteenth century, the "sun never set" on the British Empire and when the British could not or did not want to be in direct contact with the members of that empire, Chinese and Indian middleman minorities acted as their proxies.

Bonacich (1973) has argued that ethnic minorities served a number of functions in colonial societies. First, because they were outsiders to all of the other groups, they were free to trade or deal with anyone without necessarily claiming any social relationship with the people in those other groups. In contrast, elites, such as the British colonials, may have believed that it was beneath them to deal with the "natives" and degrading to interact with people whom they viewed as "less than themselves" (Rinder 1958). Second, the foreignness of middleman minorities enabled them to be "objective in the marketplace; they do not have familistic ties with the rest of the society which can intrude on, and destroy business" (Park 1939, 14). Third, they acted as a buffer for elites who then did not have to bear the hostility that colonialism, poverty, and injustice incur. "In a word, middleman minorities plug the status gap between elites and masses, acting as middlemen between the two" (Bonacich 1973, 584).

Comparing Indonesia and Malaysia

In both Indonesia and Malaysia, middleman minorities were created when Chinese people were brought to these nations by the British. Many decades later, Chinese people continue to live in Indonesia and Malaysia today. In Indonesia, Chinese-Indonesians were a middleman minority that "played dominant roles in the non-state economies of the post-independence era—a fact that engendered the resentment of indigenous majorities" (Hwang and Sadiq 2010). By the 1970s, Chinese controlled a large share of the country's private investment and ran three-fourths of Indonesia's largest businesses. People from the majority population in Indonesia resented the economic success of the Chinese, and politicians used this resentment to get themselves elected by scapegoating Chinese people and pushing legislation that would

deal with what they referred to as Chinese economic domination. Once elected, the political leaders enacted new legislation that promoted economic discrimination and unequal citizenship. They also demanded that Chinese people assimilate by adopting Indonesian names and placed a ban on using Chinese language or celebrating Chinese cultural events such as the Chinese New Year. These actions were central to the *New Order* rule under the Suharto government, which lasted from the late 1960s until the end of the century. Many of the restrictions have now been removed. However, Indonesia still faces challenges in reversing the Suharto legacy, and difficult tensions among its racial/ethnic communities remain.

In Malaysia, the British had also brought in Chinese people, and similar tensions between the Chinese middlemen and the local population developed. Here the conflict was handled differently. The Malaysian government used an approach that helped the majority of non-Chinese people to improve their place in the national economy. At the same time, it protected Chinese middleman minority communities. The Malaysians were able to create a pluralist solution that challenged the racial/ethnic legacy created by colonialism.

Malaysia was one of only a few countries where a majority population, the Bumiputera, was economically and socially disadvantaged. In order to address the problem, the government put in place a twenty-year plan called the *New Economic Policy* to try to bring about economic equity among racial/ethnic groups in the country. The policy included affirmative action programs for the Bumiputera in education, employment, and wealth ownership. Until the global economic downturn in 2008, the policy was highly successful. Poverty among the Bumiputera decreased from 65 percent in 1970 to less than 3 percent in 2007. Wealth ownership increased from 2.4 percent in 1969 to 21.9 percent in 2008, and the income gap between the Bumiputera and non-Bumiputera declined significantly. Education, especially higher education, among Bumiputera also improved. In 2008, these improvements slowed, but many of the gains have been retained. Scholars warn, however, that the focus will need to shift to rectifying social class inequalities as well as racial/ethnic gaps in order to move forward (Lee et al. 2013).

The classical terms used to describe middleman minorities such as permanent minorities (Stryker 1959) indicate the perception of middleman minorities as either people who will need to eventually assimilate and give up their racial/ethnic identities and practices or they will

remain segregated and degraded. The concept of pluralism allows us to think about how to avoid both of these “solutions.”

You should recall from the discussion in Chapter 1 that one of the theoretical frameworks used to understand the problems of racial/ethnic injustice and to address those problems is pluralism. Pluralists maintain that governments must create policies that protect the practices and identities of all of the racial/ethnic groups that make up their nation. In addition, governments must produce policies that address the inequities and tensions among the different populations. The pluralist solution might accept different racial/ethnic groups living in distinct neighborhoods with separate business networks and social circles but who all share across groups equal citizenship and respect within the whole nation. A pluralist would point to the contrast between Indonesia, where pluralism was not supported, and Malaysia, where pluralism was supported, as a good example of how pluralist policy can work. The Malaysian example also supports the pluralist contention that government intervention is essential to finding solutions (Gomez and Premdas 2012).

BRITAIN BECOMES MULTICULTURAL

For centuries, Europeans were moving outward to conquer, colonize, and settle across the globe. The British Empire claimed control on every continent for many decades until the mid-twentieth century when most of the colonies were granted independence. Figure 6.1 shows where the British Empire had established colonies at any time before 1900. After the Second World War, facing labor shortages and the need to rebuild their nation, Britain passed laws allowing the hundreds of millions of people around the world who had been or continued to be subjects to the British Empire to come to live and work in the United Kingdom without a visa. Thousands of people, especially from India, Uganda, and the Caribbean accepted their invitation (Phillips 2011).

For example, 500 Caribbean people sailed from Jamaica to Tilbury in 1948 on a ship called the *Windrush*. The London newspapers greeted the ship full of Caribbean immigrants with the headline “Welcome Home Sons of Empire” (Richards 1948). Because of this historical event, British Caribbean people who came to the United Kingdom in the period after World War II are often called the *Windrush generation*.

By the 1970s, however, immigration laws in Britain had reversed and began to strictly restrict immigration by both nationality and

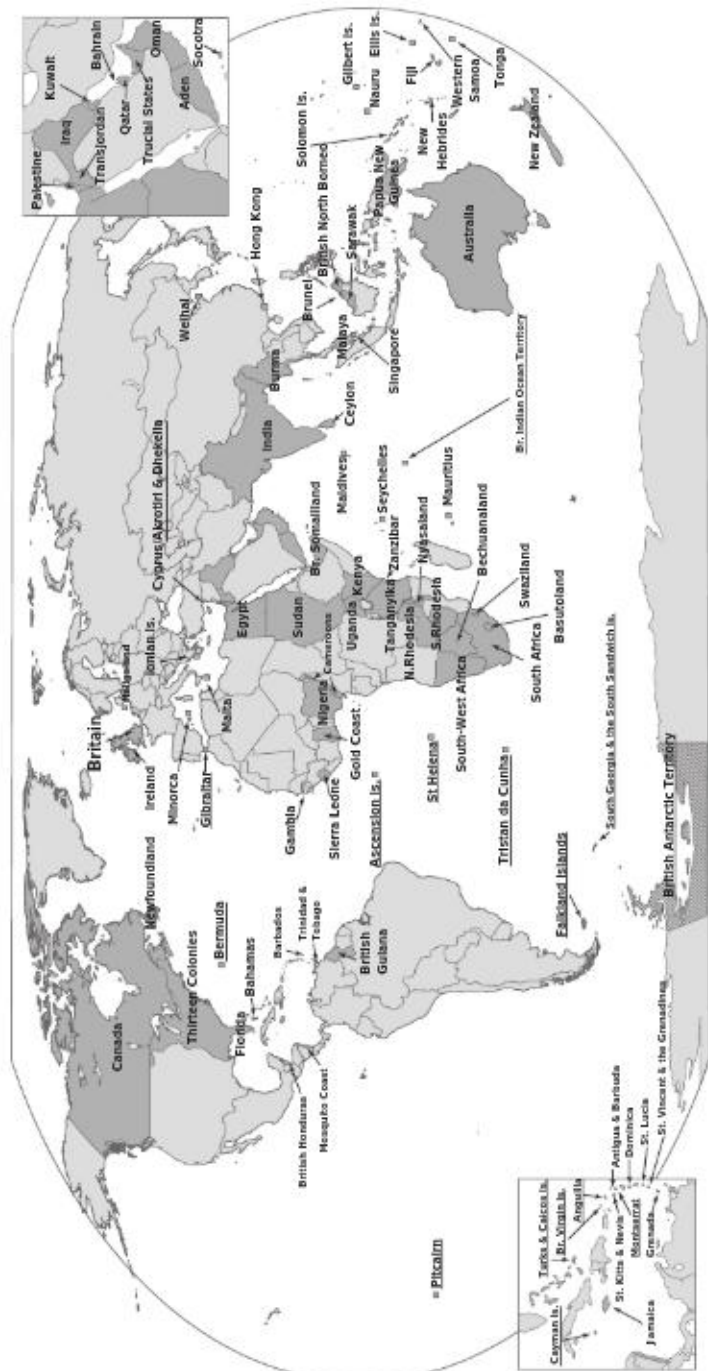


FIGURE 6.1

British Empire in 1900. The darker gray areas shows the areas that were under British control and illustrate the saying "the sun never sets on the British empire."

profession. By the 1980s, the largest immigrant groups were Americans who came to work in banking and industry; Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africans making use of family ties entry rules; and South Asians entering the medical professions. Nevertheless, further pressures from asylum seekers in more recent decades continued to bring in less affluent people from the former colonies in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia (British Broadcasting Corporation 2015a; United Kingdom 2014).

Today, about 87% of the population in the United Kingdom identify themselves as white on the census. Asians from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and China constitute the largest category of people who make up the remaining 13%, but people from the former colonies in the Caribbean and Africa also constitute a large number of people living in the United Kingdom (United Kingdom 2011a). In addition, the trend toward an increasingly diverse society is expected to continue because the birth rate of white people in Britain is lower than for other racial/ethnic groups. For example, 35 percent of the children born in England and Wales in 2005 were non-white (Osborne and Kent 2015). About two million immigrants from the European Union and about 4.6 million immigrants from outside the European Union now live in the United Kingdom (United Kingdom 2011b).

Multicultural Drift

"At some point in about 1998, the precise moment is still open for questioning, Britain is said to have become a multicultural society" (Hall 2000). Stuart Hall (2000) observes what he calls *multicultural drift*, or the "the unplanned, increasing involvement of Britain's black and brown populations visibly registering a play of difference right across the face of British society." Hall also observes, however, that the centers of power in the United Kingdom have remained relatively untouched by the drift. Especially in large urban centers, economic contributions by multicultural populations have made them a force to be reckoned with. Nevertheless, nonwhite unemployment rates in Britain surpass those of white Britons, and extensive racial/ethnic disparities and discrimination persist.

Foreign Minister Hague's 2013 announcement to the House of Commons that Britain would pay reparations for the damage it had done as a colonial power may indicate a growing acknowledgment of the new reality that is multicultural Britain (Osborne and Kent 2015). Black and Asian politicians have also made some progress in gaining

access to political representation; they have emerged to take seats on county and borough councils and in parliament. For example, in 1992, only six black people were elected to parliament, but by 2010, the number was 27. Today, in 2015, 41 black and other British minority ethnic (BME) people are members of parliament. They include people who identify themselves as British Nigerian, British Pakistani, British Sri Lankan, British Bosnian, British Bengali, British Indian, and mixed. These numbers, however, are still small (6 percent of the total); parliament has 650 members in all (Hawkins et al. 2015).

Black and Asian British people have also gained some representation in businesses in the United Kingdom. Most of the growing numbers of people from the former colonies, who are moving to and living in Britain, however, still do not have access to the housing, jobs, education and all of the other benefits afforded to many nonimmigrant British people. Furthermore, immigrants continue to be subjected to violence from state actors—the police force—and the problem of police abuse seems to be growing (Castles et al. 2014).

Hall (2000) is concerned with how to address the economic and political gap as well as the problem of violence. Multiculturalism has been proposed by some. The multicultural model was defined by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins in 1970 as “not a flattening process of assimilation but equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance” (Somerville et al. 2009). You should notice that *multiculturalism* sounds like the description of pluralism discussed in Chapter 1 and in the contrast between policies in Malaysia and Indonesia earlier in this chapter. These two models—pluralism and multiculturalism—are, in fact, quite similar. *Pluralism*, however, assumes that there is a dominant culture along with minority or less powerful cultures existing together. Multiculturalism, in contrast, does not assume dominance of any particular group. Box 6.1 describes a third related term, *interculturalism*, which emphasizes the kind of relationship among the different racial/ethnic groups and specifies that in order to be successful, pluralism/multiculturalism needs to include ongoing communication among the different groups.

Antiracists have argued that multiculturalism (and pluralism) fall short of addressing the core political inequalities and tensions among different racial/ethnic groups. Antiracists argue that within the multicultural approach, white culture is invisible or presented as the norm. Race/ethnicity is something that only people who are not white have or

BOX 6.1

Interculturalism in Canada

In a multicultural community, people of diverse cultures or race/ethnicities live side by side but they may have little real contact with each other. *Interculturalism* refers to multicultural communities that interact with each other in a process aimed at recognizing and celebrating differences as well as ironing out disagreements and building bridges of understanding. Interculturalism includes working to consciously create community across race/ethnicities and to facilitate equality and diminish power differences (Boucharde 2011).

Canada is a nation of great racial/ethnic diversity, including the two dominant groups of Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, numerous indigenous/First Nations groups, and a large immigrant population comprised of people from all over the world. Canada claims to be a nation where interculturalism is an aspect of public policy, and Canadian activists are working to make that claim a reality by implementing a Canadian diversity model of interculturalism (Jenson and Papillon 2001).

The Canadian model is made up of a set of public and private practices—a repertoire—that guides conflict resolution and shapes choices about economic, social, and cultural differences. It is called a repertoire because the practices are both interrelated and involve choice. This repertoire is played out in civil society and by state actors (Jenson and Papillon 2001, 3).

Canadian interculturalism includes (Chiasson 2012) the following (numbers refer to pages in *Ministère des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration* 1991):

1. Specific rules, reliance on the government, and a focus on economic opportunities for immigrants (71, 76)
2. Government actions to adapt its institutions to overcome linguistic and cultural obstacles to ensure equal access to health and social services for members of cultural communities (82)
3. Institutional responsiveness to demands for religious accommodations (84)
4. Government adoption of measures to promote a positive attitude toward diversity, and to valorise different cultures (91-3)

practice. What white people do and believe is just normal. Antiracist activists also oppose the way that multiculturalism envisions societies as composed of “minority ethnic communities” and their members as passive recipients of institutional support rather than proactive political agents (Lentin 2004). Antiracist activists are most concerned, however, that although the right to express one’s culture—language, holidays, clothing, ways of believing and doing—is essential, our primary focus

should be on inequalities of power. Especially today, we should focus on the persistence of state racism through agencies such as the police, courts, prisons, and military and their extension into new realms by the "war on terror" that target immigrants and nonwhite populations.

Hall enters this debate by asserting that rather than being its antithesis, perhaps multiculturalism is antiracism. He writes that it is his "conviction that far from being an obvious, overused, platitude, questions of multiculturalism, properly understood contain the seeds of a major disruption of our normal common sense political assumptions and is calculated to have disruptive effects on all sides" (Hall, 2000). He argues that two contradictory processes are at work within the current globalization of populations which includes the increased global migration of people and the resulting diversity of populations. The first of these processes is the universal takeover by cultures of the global North, both in nations of the global North itself and in the spread of Northern cultures all over the world. For example, music that is produced by an industry centered in the United States and dominated by a particular form focused on white Americans is ubiquitous within the United States as well as around the globe.

The second process Hall (2000) describes contradicts the first. He calls this second process the *subaltern proliferation of difference*. By this he means that the subaltern population, people from former and current colonies, has also spread throughout the globe, bringing with them their "difference" and challenging the normativity of those in power in the neocolonial system. Furthermore, not only do the subaltern people represent differences from the dominant cultures of the former colonial powers, they also represent the heterogeneity of their own cultures. For example, although British ideologies about Caribbean people may see everyone from the islands as a homogenous group, real Caribbean people who make their lives in Britain present a broad range of cultures, languages, beliefs, practices, and values and this diversity challenges the stereotypes (Hall 2000).

MIGRATION TODAY: IRREGULAR AND TRANSNATIONAL

Britain is not the only multicultural nation. More than 232 million people—the largest number in human history—now live outside their countries of origin as migrants or refugees (United Nations 2013b). Immigrants are highly vulnerable to racism, xenophobia, and

discrimination. There are a range of responses to the crisis. At one extreme is acceptance and promotion of multicultural societies by granting citizenship and encouraging the celebration of diversity and racial/ethnic communities. At the other is denial of rights and citizenship, rejection of cultural diversity, and promotion of the idea that racial/ethnic minorities are undesirable (Castles et al. 2014).

A number of nations have taken the side of the latter of these choices and have implemented policies such as restricting visas and refusing entry to immigrants. The problem of immigration law and anti-immigrant sentiment has reached crisis proportions in the European Union in recent years because of war and economic collapse in the Middle East and Africa (British Broadcasting Corporation 2015a). The tactic of denying economic and political refugees entry to Europe, however, has failed because it just creates more *irregular* immigrants—those who enter without permission and without legal documents (Castle et al. 2014). As a result, an increasing proportion of international migration today is irregular and unauthorized. For example, more than a million people crossed into Europe in 2015 without authorization and documents (BBC 2016). This leaves immigrants without legal protection and likely to face abuse and exploitation. Immigrants are confronted with severe discrimination in housing, education, health, work, and social security. Laws that discriminate against non-nationals and programs and policies that fail to address their needs result in migrants and their families being unable to access basic services or only able to access them at levels that do not meet international human rights standards. For migrants in an irregular situation, their vulnerability is compounded because access to remedies is often unavailable because of their status. They cannot ask the police or the courts to protect them from exploitative bosses or violent criminals. They cannot seek healthcare or education for their children without risking imprisonment or deportation. Although irregular immigrants are most vulnerable, even immigrants whose movements are legal and authorized face these problems as well (United Nations 2001b, 2014b).

In addition to causing greater difficulties for those immigrants who successfully arrive in the receiving countries, restrictions on entry and legal documents increase the danger faced by those who attempt to immigrate. Officials estimate that about 19,000 people died in transit to Europe from 1990 to 2014 and the numbers are growing (Bajekel

et al. 2015). More than 5000 died in 2015 alone (International Organization for Migration 2016). Stricter control of borders has meant that irregular immigrants are more likely to attempt to enter Europe by boat, which is the most dangerous mode of transport and is becoming more hazardous as more seaworthy boats have been confiscated by border police (Brian and Laczko 2014). In the past few years, the Mediterranean has become a huge graveyard; thousands of migrants have drowned after boarding unsafe and overcrowded boats in attempts to cross from North Africa and the Middle East.

These tragedies are foreseeable and, as the Italians have shown, preventable. Operation *Mare Nostrum*, an extensive search and rescue operation initiated by the Italian government in October 2013, rescued more than 150,000 migrants in fourteen months, seized five mother ships, and brought more than 300 alleged smugglers to justice. Italy bore the cost of these operations, estimated at more than €100 million. It came under criticism from Germany and the United Kingdom, which argued that saving the lives of those in danger at sea was creating a magnet for irregular migration (Muiznieks 2015).

Migrants today are not only likely to be irregular, they are also likely to be *transnational*. That is, although they are living in places outside of their original homeland, they retain connections to people and places they left behind (Schiller et al. 1995). They are not sojourners but neither have they cut ties with their home countries. Not only do they retain ideological connections through their language and culture, they retain literal connection with their families through communication and remittances.

Most women who migrate to work as domestic workers, for example, are transnational—retaining their connections with children and family left behind. Other workers pushed out by international trade agreements from fields and factories in the global South to find jobs in the global North also retain their connections through remittances and family responsibilities. Box 6.2 describes the increasing importance of remittances, money sent home by immigrants, in the world economy.

North American Free Trade Agreement

From the 1940s to the late 1960s, the US economy was based on mass production balanced with mass consumption aimed at a domestic market. This stage of capitalist development has been called *Fordism*

BOX 6.2

Remittances

Remittances are monies sent home by immigrants. At the personal level, remittances help to provide food, clothing, school fees, housing payments, doctor's visits, medicine, and investment in agriculture and community projects. And increasingly, remittances are central factors in national economies. The Filipino economy, for example, relies heavily on remittances, which are greater than the amount of foreign investment in the country.

In 1990, US\$29 billion were remitted around the world. By 2000, that number had grown to US\$79 billion, and the latest figures in 2014 are US\$583 billion remitted to the global South. In 2011, Indians remitted the largest amount—US\$71 billion, followed by China (US\$64 billion), the Philippines (US\$28 billion), Mexico (US\$24 billion), Nigeria (US\$21 billion), and Egypt (US\$18 billion) (Ratha, Mohapatra, and Silwal 2011; World Bank 2014a).

(Aglietta 1979; Lipietz 1987). Fordism consisted of a sort of economic pact between the government, workers, and corporations in which American capitalists benefited from a system that included a continual increase in production and a parallel increase in consumption by American workers who were producing the goods and services. Fordism began to falter in the late 1960s and early 1970s as profitability began to decline when production continued to expand but domestic consumption declined as workers' wages did not keep up with the cost of the products and services. Improved technology increasingly made many workers redundant, and those workers who were able to hold on to their jobs saw their wages stagnate and fall (Cypher and Delgado-Wise 2010; Delgado-Wise and Cypher 2007).

The solution to the crisis of profitability for American capitalists was to shift away from Fordism to a new model known as *neoliberal globalization* in which both production and consumption were broadened to include the entire world (Otero, 1996, 2004). Labor costs were reduced by accelerating the movement of production to the global South, where wages were lower and protections for workers and rules for production were reduced. Tariffs and other market protections were also reduced in order to allow corporations of the global North to sell their products at lower prices and to better control markets around the world.

Neoliberal globalization attempted to give free rein to private investments in the market while keeping worker rooted in their national states (Otero 2011). The goal for American capitalists was to be able to freely invest anywhere in the world and to be able to hire workers wherever wages were lowest. National borders were to become less and less relevant to the flow of goods and of money in investments and profits. Workers, however, were expected to remain within their own country—their own labor markets—in order to maintain the lowest wage scales (Fernandez-Kelly and Massey 2007). Regular authorized migration of workers was increasingly restricted resulting in more and more irregular or undocumented migration.

The *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA) is an example of a formal arrangement reached to facilitate this shift from Fordism to neoliberal globalization. NAFTA was signed by the three nations of North America: Canada, the United States, and Mexico, and it went into effect in 1994. NAFTA has been criticized at length for the problems it has created in diminished environmental protection, destruction of labor laws to protect workers, and the loss of American jobs. Although advocates of NAFTA promised it would increase jobs in the United States, it has instead caused many American jobs to be moved to cheaper labor markets, especially in maquiladoras in the border region of the United States and Mexico. Mexican workers gained the jobs; however, the pay for the work is so low that it is beneath subsistence. The minimum wage in Mexico in 2014 was about \$5.12 a day, the lowest in the hemisphere except for Haiti (Montes 2014).

Agricultural work, which was a mainstay of the Mexican economy, was especially hard hit by NAFTA. Mexico's employed labor force increased by 9.8 percent between 1998 and 2007 but decreased in agriculture by 24 percent, from 7.5 million people to only 5.7 million during that same period (González Chávez and Macías Macías 2007, 68). The deregulation of agriculture; the selling of Mexican farmland to foreign investors; the withdrawal of farm subsidies; and the opening of Mexican food, seed, and feed markets to competition from Canadian and American companies forced Mexican peasants who could not compete with the mechanized agribusiness of Canada and the United States to migrate north to find work (Fernandez-Kelly and Massey 2007). Other sectors of the Mexican economy did not produce enough jobs to absorb this surplus labor as new manufacturing and service investments are marked by capital-intensive or labor-saving technologies required for global competition. In addition, the cost of

living, especially of food, rose dramatically when agricultural subsidies came to end. Tortilla prices, for example, increased as much as 67 percent, and the international price of corn increased 76 percent in 2006 (Appendini 2008). As a result, Mexican peasants were unable to survive and were forced to search for work away from their rural communities and eventually away from their country. Mexico became the largest contributor to international labor migration in the world (Otero 2011). Although the rate of Mexican immigration into the United States has declined in very recent years, nearly 12 million Mexican immigrants now live in the United States, constituting about 28 percent of all immigrants currently in the United States (Zong and Batalova 2015). About half of unauthorized immigrants are from Mexico (Krogstad and Passel 2014).

The American government has responded by militarizing the supposedly "open border" created by NAFTA and creating policies that criminalize immigrants, especially those who are irregular. Special prisons have been built to house those who are without documents, and even young children are imprisoned or deported. Routes across the border have become more dangerous and the price demanded by coyote smugglers higher. In addition to the human rights problems this has created, the harsh treatment of immigrants has caused them to be much less likely to return to Mexico for fear that they will not be able to reenter at a later date (Fernandez-Kelly and Massey 2007). The Mexican racial/ethnic minority within the United States continues to grow in a context of increasing discrimination and hostility from individuals as well as government policies and officials.

Chains of Care

NAFTA provides an example of an explicit policy that forced people to migrate from one nation to another in search of a way to sustain themselves. The increase in the numbers of immigrant care workers coming from the global South to work in the global North presents another kind of example in which economic changes created both a push from the South and a pull from the North.

One of the important changes in migration patterns in the past two decades has been the increasing numbers of women. Nearly half (48 percent) of the people who migrate today are women. Many of these women earn money as care workers, providing for the physical, psychological, emotional, and developmental needs of their employers. Arlie Hochschild coined the term *global care chains* to describe the

situation in which women from the global South leave their children to be cared for grandmothers, sisters, and fathers while they work for women in the global North who (increasingly) are entering the labor force. Women in the North are taking jobs outside the home because of economic pressures in wealthy nations that require two incomes to maintain households. This, coupled with dwindling government support for child care and elder care and an aging population that looks to their daughters for care, has left a gap in families. Women from the global South migrate across the world to fill the gap and work as nannies, housekeepers, and caregivers. Their work is often characterized by the ironic coupling of unprecedented intimacy with exploitation and abuse (Parreñas 2005; Rodriguez 2007). Furthermore, even if immigrant care workers are able to find employment at places with relatively safe and secure journeys, jobs, and income, it comes at great social cost to the families and children who stay behind (Parreñas 2001).

In the Philippines, for example, these issues are at a crisis level. Scholars estimate that 9 million children (27 percent of all Filipino children) have been left behind by mothers who have immigrated to other countries for work (Reyes 2008). Some countries, such as the Philippines, accelerate the push by actively encouraging emigration of women, arguing that migrant women are more likely than migrant men to send their wages back to their families rather than spending the money on themselves. Money sent back home, however small, has an important and positive impact on the lives of children, parents, and siblings, as well as on indebted governments in the global South. Box 6.2 presents some of the numbers that show how significant remittances are in the world economy.

Immigrant workers, such as those in these global chains of care, are at the margin of protection by labor standards of workplace safety, health, and minimum wages. Their vulnerability to exploitation and abuse is exacerbated by problems with languages, unfamiliarity with local custom and culture, and insufficient networks for social support. Their lack of legal recognition and precarious status in host countries, especially if they are irregular, means that they are more easily exploited because they can be threatened with exposure and deported if the demand for their labor weakens or if they do not submit to the exploitation by their employers (United Nations 2001b, Carter and Aulette 2016).

Economic and social damage results when people from the global South are forced to migrate to the global North and find that they are relegated to difficult and low wage jobs. They also face emotional

BOX 6.3

Colonial Mentality

Colonial mentality (CM) is a term often used in the Filipino and Filipino American community referring to feeling inferior for being Filipino, feeling ashamed or embarrassed of the Filipino culture, regarding Filipino physical traits as less attractive than European physical traits, discriminating against non-Westernized or less-Westernized Filipinos, and tolerance and acceptance of contemporary oppression of Filipinos (David and Okazaki 2006). The term could be used to describe the experience of many people, not just Filipinos, but the discourse around CM and the small amount of research on the issue is focused on people from the Philippines. In addition, psychologists have documented the important psychological role CM has on Filipino Americans relating it to higher rates of depression and suicidal ideation compared to other racial/ethnic groups (Agbayani-Siewart and Enrile, 2003).

CM is linked to myths about the global North. The term *Amerikano* is used to describe a racial/ethnic group that is mostly associated with the United States but includes people from other places, such as New Zealand, who look like white Americans and excludes people who might be American citizens but do not look like white Americans (Bulloch 2013). *Amerika* refers to the global North in general and is associated with affluence, and supposedly better products and better ways of doing things. For example, Filipinos who are influenced by CM might believe that imported foods are better. They also may think that houses constructed of bricks, more typical of those in Europe or the United States, are better even though the bamboo

challenges of racism when they find they and their cultures are perceived as inferior. Some people may even buy into the stereotypes and internalize feelings of inferiority when they look to the dominant culture as a superior one to which they will never gain admission. This is called *colonial mentality* and is discussed in Box 6.3.

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

Racial/ethnic minorities; middleman minorities; sojourners; New Order rule; New Economic Policy; pluralism; multicultural model; Windrush generation; multicultural drift; subaltern proliferation of difference; interculturalism; irregular immigrants; remittances; North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Fordism, neoliberal globalization; colonial mentality

construction of more traditional Filipino houses is easier to cool and better adapted to the tropical climate. Ideals of beauty are derived from stereotypes of white bodies and skin lighteners are especially popular (David 2011). Amerikanos are not perfect, however. They are also perceived as sexually debauched, rude and insensitive to the feelings of others, inept at manual labor, and less caring about their families (Bulloch 2013). Amerikanos, however, remain an ideal goal within the CM framework.

CM is rooted in a colonial past that elevated conquerors and settlers above those people on whose shores they arrived. But it continues to be fueled by imported media that glorifies stereotyped American values and lifestyles. In addition, it is fueled by a developmental discourse promoted by institutions such as the World Bank and the United Nations and government leaders. It is premised on the idea that “societies progress in a unilinear fashion—from tradition to modernity, simplicity to complexity, poverty to wealth—as a natural, inevitable, and positive, process. It is premised, too, on an ideal of Western lifestyles as a universal and ultimate goal” (Bulloch 2013, 230).

CM serves a political role of helping to maintain the status quo because it presents the idea that global inequalities among nations have been caused by the supposedly less developed, less civilized citizens of those nations that are not yet “developed.” It also creates psychological problems for those people who come to believe that they are inferior and that they have only themselves to blame for the difficulties they and their communities face. These feelings of inferiority are even further intensified when they immigrate to America and find that they are unlikely to be able to live the American dream (David and Nadal 2013).

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the similarities and differences in middleman racial/ethnic minorities of the colonial period and racial/ethnic minorities created by contemporary migration forces such as NAFTA and the global chains of care?
2. What is the debate between multiculturalists and antiracists? How is Hall's position different than both of these? Which of the three arguments do you find most persuasive? Why?
3. How have international trade agreements such as NAFTA and economic trends such as global chains of care shaped contemporary immigration? How has the shape of contemporary immigration created problems for racial/ethnic minorities who have migrated as a result of these forces?

7



FIGURE 7.0

Japanese school children in school uniforms. The uniformity in appearance belies the diversity by race/ethnicity in Japan. (*brytta/iStock*)

ETHNONATIONALISM, MONOETHNICITY, AND THE SHOAH



In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea” (Du Bois 1903, 19). The question of skin color to the understanding and experience of race and racism is fundamental in the United States. Not only is there a color line between white and nonwhite, colorism, which refers to valuing lighter color within racial/ethnic groups, is also crucial. The question of color is so dominant in the racial/ethnic system in the United States, the country has been called a pigmentocracy (Bonilla-Silva 2002). This title could be applied to other racial/ethnic systems in nations other than the United States. In Chapter 8, for example, we will examine the color lines in Brazil and the Dominican Republic. But color is not as important in every society’s organization of race/ethnicity. For example in India, we learned that other factors are more salient—and color is not as critical an issue. In this chapter, we will look at two racial/ethnic systems where color is not important. The first of these is the supposedly monoethnic Japan. The second is the Nazi system, which murdered six million Jewish people in the twentieth century and has come to be known as the Holocaust or the Shoah.

The chapter begins by discussing the question of monoethnicity in Japan. The opening photograph shows a group of Japanese children who look quite similar to one another—but the visual image is deceptive. Japan has more racial/ethnic diversity than many people think, and it faces challenges in creating equity among

the different groups who live in Japan today. We start by reviewing the different racial/ethnic minorities in Japan. The chapter then moves to discussing the concept of *nihonjinron*, which helps us understand the way in which monoethnicity is valued by many people in Japan. Resistance by Japanese activists as well as the international community against claiming monoethnicity and valuing it is explored next. In the second half of the chapter, we begin with the concept of ethnonationalism and examine the Shoah. What happened in Nazi Germany and how are those events linked to the idea of ethnonationalism? In the last section of this chapter, we consider the concept of human rights as a way to address ethnonationalism.

THE MYTH OF MONOETHNIC JAPAN

A handful of nations around the world have the reputation of being *monoethnic*. Japan is perhaps the best known of these. Among people outside of Japan as well among many people who live in Japan, it is commonly believed that all Japanese are the same—they act the same, they speak the same language, and they share the same culture. Although this belief is widespread and often strongly held, it is not true. Monoethnic Japan is a myth. Japan is composed of a number of racial/ethnic populations. Citizens of Japan can be categorized into three groups (Takeuchi 2009):

1. Ethnic Japanese, who are the majority
2. Domestic/indigenous minority groups (Ainu [Utari], Burakumin, and Okinawans)
3. Foreigners who can be divided into two types:
 - Old timers, who include Chinese whose ancestors immigrated to Japan many generations ago and *Zainichi* Koreans. *Zainichi* Koreans are people whose families came from Korea during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Korea was under Japanese rule, but are still perceived as foreigners living in Japan.
 - Newcomers include Southeast Asians, Chinese, Filipinos, Americans, and *Nikkeijin*. *Nikkeijin* are people whose ancestors emigrated from Japan to other nations several decades ago, especially to Latin America, and have recently returned to Japan.

Domestic/Indigenous Minority Groups

In Chapter 9, we will examine the issue of indigenous populations in a number of nations and regions. In Japan, two indigenous groups are most significant, the Ainu people of northern Japan and Okinawans who are from the island of Okinawa (Weiner 2008).

The *Ainu*, who often prefer to refer to themselves as *Utari*, are estimated to number over 23,000, and most of them live in Hokkaido (Nishino 2011). Japanese expansion into the area where the Ainu lived beginning in the eighteenth century resulted in their forced assimilation. Much of Ainu culture is no longer practiced because Ainu people were made to use the Japanese language and pressed into forced labor in farming and fishing, after the loss of their land. Today, the Ainu fare poorly in terms of education, employment, and health, and they also face greater poverty than others in Japan (Htun 2012).

Interviews with Ainu people also reveal the psychological effects of losing their culture and their feelings of being outsiders and needing to keep their heritage and identity a secret. One young Ainu woman explained to a researcher, "When I was in primary school, I used to go to an Ainu children's study group where Ainu children gathered twice a week and study. We didn't study at all. We played, did camping and had a Christmas Party. I felt really safe there. At school we couldn't say who we are, and we tried very hard not to stand out. . . . Everyone [in the children's study group] understood that we are Ainu, and we could relax and play" (Htun 2012, 17).

Okinawans are another indigenous group in Japan. They were part of the *Rukyu*an Empire, which was taken over by the Japanese Empire in the late nineteenth century. Okinawans are the largest indigenous group living in Japan, numbering over one million. Assimilation of Okinawans into the dominant ethnic Japanese culture has been encouraged by the government in policies such as teaching only standard Japanese in schools, prohibiting ethnic clothes and hair styles, and giving Japanese surnames to Okinawans in the family registry system (Kano 1993).

The third group in this category is *Burakumin*, who number about two to three million people living in 6,000 communities across Japan (Htun 2012). *Burakumin* are not really an indigenous group like the Ainu or Okinawans. Rather, they were created by a caste system in ancient Japan as part of Buddhist and Shinto religious-based practices (Brown 2013). *Burakumin* are similar to the Dalits in India. They have been historically differentiated by their occupation in jobs that are considered polluting such as butchers, leatherworkers, and undertakers.

The Japanese caste system maintained that they had been relegated to these jobs because they were supposedly descendants of a lesser human race. In the past, Burakumin were required to live in segregated areas and to restrict themselves to low-status jobs associated with the stigmatized work of their ancestors. The Burakumin were even required to wear particular styles of clothing to make them more visible—and therefore avoidable. They were prohibited from wearing cloth sashes or belts or colorful clothing. Instead, they had to use straw ropes as belts and hair ties and were only allowed to wear tan color clothes. In some places, they were forced to wear a leather patch on their sleeves marking them as Burakumin (Brown 2013).

Laws in Japan, like laws in India, have abolished castes. The caste system no longer exists as part of the legal system. The stigma, restrictions, and discrimination with which Burakumin were forced to live when the system was legal are not as evident now, but many Burakumin remain segregated residentially. Furthermore, being Burakumin is still stigmatized, and people describe the techniques they use which allow them to “pass” as non-Burakumin in Japanese society today. In addition, some Japanese continue to take care not to marry people who are Burakumin (Tomonaga 2008). A partner’s Buraku origins are still not widely accepted by many people and their families when choosing a future spouse. Tomonaga (2008) found that people thought it natural to consider the family lineage of a potential spouse and if that lineage was Burakumin, ethnic Japanese were discouraged from marrying.

As a result of discrimination, Burakumin face economic difficulty. A survey carried out in 2005, for example, showed that families in Buraku districts were three times more likely to receive public assistance than people living in other municipalities. In addition, 21 percent of Buraku district residents were in unstable employment, nearly twice that of averages in other districts (Tomonaga 2008).

Old Foreigners

Foreigners are another broad category of racial/ethnic minority in Japan and can be divided into two categories: *Old Foreigners* and *New Foreigners*. Some of the people who are thought of as foreign have in fact been living in Japan for generations. People whose ancestors came originally from China, for example, have been living in Japan for centuries. Many were brought in as middlemen during the nineteenth century.

Zainichi Koreans, an Old Foreign racial/ethnic minority in Japan, are Koreans whose ancestors were imported to Japan under duress to

work as forced labor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Korea (what is now the nations of North Korea and South Korea) was annexed as a colony of Japan in 1910. Japanese confiscated farmland and forced former farmers to move to Japan to work as laborers because the wars in the early twentieth century meant that Japan could not longer meet its own labor needs (Narzary 2004). After the Second World War, two-thirds of the Koreans who had been living in Japan returned to Korea. *Zainichi* literally translates to "staying in Japan." Those Koreans who remained were stripped of their Japanese citizenship under the 1952 San Francisco Peace Treaty, which mandated that Koreans register under the law as foreigners and be placed under surveillance (Takeuchi 2009). It was not until 1991 that "special permanent residency" was given to Korean residents and their descendants in Japan who had lost their nationality under the San Francisco Treaty (Htun 2012).

Zainichi Koreans have never been fully accepted into Japanese society and often maintain dual identities to try to assimilate into the dominant Japanese society while retaining their own cultural heritage. Because of their status as foreigners, Zainichi Koreans in Japan are excluded from many government positions and face informal barriers in corporate careers (Lie 2001).

A second category of foreigners are those who have come more recently. These New Foreigners include undocumented Chinese people who have immigrated into Japan seeking work in the twentieth century. They also include South Americans, especially from Brazil and Peru, whose Japanese parents had previously immigrated to Latin America. These Latin Americans came seeking work partly because of economic difficulties in their own nations and partly because they were actively recruited by Japanese businesses that were concerned about the dwindling labor supply in Japan which had resulted from slow population growth (Brody 2002).

In the 1980s, Japanese businesses became worried about a labor shortage. A low birth rate, an aging population, and a high level of education among young people meant that a decreasing number of people were available and willing to work, especially in the "three K" jobs: *kitawai* (dirty), *kiken* (dangerous), and *kitsui* (demanding). A network of illegal labor recruiters began to bring in undocumented workers from Iran, Pakistan, and China. The government responded by passing the Immigration Control and Refugee Act in 1990. This act limited immigrants who had no previous ties to Japan while targeting for admission those people who had previously left Japan to live in other countries.

In the 1950s, left with the destruction of the war and many homeless people, the Japanese government began encouraging people to leave Japan. The government covered transportation costs and provided education about emigration and fitting into another culture. Thousands of people left Japan to live in other countries. Many of them went to Brazil. The 1990 act invited them and their descendants back to Japan. More than a million of these immigrants, called *Nikkeijin*, returned to Japan. *Nikkeijin* are the most advantaged foreigners in terms of their legal rights to live and work at any job they choose in Japan because they are perceived as being “real” Japanese, because their parents and grandparents were originally from Japan (Brody 2002).

A debate has arisen between *Kaikoku* and the *Sakoku*. The *Kaikoku* argue that opening Japan to foreigners, whether their ancestors had originally come from Japan or not, would not only solve the labor shortage, it would also enhance the culture. The *Sakoku* warn that more foreigners, regardless of their ancestry, will increase crime; reduce industrial efficiency; create a permanent underclass; and increase the number of people of mixed race, thereby encouraging abandonment of the Japanese culture (Brody 2002). The government has sought to resolve the debate between these two opposing positions by reconciling the need for foreign unskilled labor with concerns about maintaining the “cultural integrity” of Japan. The government’s efforts have not satisfied those advocating tighter borders. The photograph in Figure 7.1, with a banner reading “Japanese only,” was put up by right wing soccer fans illustrating the strong feelings held by anti-immigration forces. The banners caused a vocal controversy between the two opposing positions as well as fines from the soccer organization (Pamintuan-Lamorena 2014).

***Nihonjinron* (“Japaneseness”)**

The word *Nihonjinron* translates in English to “Japaneseness” and refers to a type of literature that focuses on and celebrates ethnic Japanese culture, people, society, history, and national interests. It includes academic sources and discussions but also popular books, magazines, and newspapers that emphasize the uniqueness of ethnic Japanese people and their culture and differentiates Japan from the rest of the world. The tenets of *nihonjinron* include (Kazujumi and Befu n.d., 6):

1. Homogeneity: Japanese are a homogeneous and unique people.
2. Blood: Japanese “blood” is essential for mutual communication, mutual understanding, understanding of the culture and appearance as Japanese.



FIGURE 7.1

Political movements have formed in Japan taking sides on the question of diversity. *Kaikoku* argue that opening Japan to foreigners, whether their ancestors had originally come from Japan or not, would not only solve the labor shortage, it would also enhance the culture. *Sakoku* warn that more foreigners, regardless of their ancestry, will increase crime, reduce industrial efficiency, create a permanent underclass, and increase the number of people of mixed race, thereby encouraging abandonment of the Japanese culture.

3. Cultural competence: Foreigners are incapable of fully understanding Japanese culture or mastering the language.
4. Social participation: The sociocultural territoriality of Japan should be defended, and foreigners must be excluded in the areas of marriage, employment, teaching, and political and artistic leadership.

"*Nihonjinron* plays a vital role in reproducing and naturalizing a political ideology that emphasizes the value of group orientation, hierarchy (vertical-stratification, intra-company solidarity), harmony, *amae* (affectionate dependency), and interpersonalism" (Takeuchi 2009). These values are widely known in Japan, and many people believe them to be admirable and natural features of being Japanese. Although they

are not universally accepted, they are a social construct with a powerful influence destined to create gaps between those residents in Japan considered Japanese and those considered non-Japanese. They are evident in political rhetoric and policy. Most importantly, perhaps, they are well represented in educational curriculum for children in Japan.

Research on legally mandated curriculum, as well as observations in classrooms, has found that national culture and traditions are stressed in many subjects, including history, foreign languages, and moral education. This kind of emphasis increased even further after the revision of the Fundamental Law of Education in 2006. The revisions replaced a curriculum built on democratic ideas with a curriculum focused on patriotism and morality (Takeuchi 2009). In addition to promoting a curriculum that ignores diversity in the population, the laws distinguish between Japanese and non-Japanese in regard to who must be educated. Japanese children are legally obligated to attend school, but education is not compulsory for foreign students. This distinction has been identified by teachers as a significant problem for managing foreign students, especially in keeping them from dropping out of the system (Takeuchi 2009).

Historical Origins of the Myth of Homogeneity and Contemporary Racism in Japan

Alongside the evidence that Japan is not monoethnic—and in fact includes a number of different racial/ethnic groups—stands the ideal of monoethnicity and the rhetoric from the government that real Japanese are homogenous and others should not be allowed to interfere with real Japaneseness. Although the identity of monoethnic or homogeneous is not based in fact, it exists as a powerful ideology and social construct. Where did this belief come from?

Narzary (2004) argues that the myth of homogeneity in Japan is a relatively recent idea that has served as a political tool since the late eighteenth century as a way to convince Japanese people to see themselves as separate and superior to those they dominated as a colonial power. It also has served as a way to rally the troops and the citizenry in the wars against nations such as China over the annexation of Korean in the nineteenth century, China in the twentieth century, and the United States and European countries during the Second World War (Narzary 2004).

The myth of homogeneity is accompanied by the myth that racism does not exist in Japan. But evidence of serious discrimination against racial/ethnic minorities at the hands of the state exists. Part of the myth of

homogeneity in Japan is that because there is only one population group, there is no discrimination by race/ethnicity, and that furthermore Japan should work to recognize and maintain its homogeneity as a source of its economic strength. In 1986, Prime Minister Nakasone infamously stated that Japan was superior to the United States because Japan is a monoethnic state unlike the United States, where the presence of black and Hispanic people had brought down the literacy rate. As recently as 2005, Taro Aso, Foreign Minister in Japan, declared that Japan was one nation, one civilization, one language, one culture and one race (Burgess 2005).

According to public polls, the Japanese say that they want fewer immigrants and that they prefer that policies for immigration prioritize special skills rather than family members. Giving priority to family members would allow those minorities who currently are living in Japan to build a community and a life for themselves and would encourage them to stay rather than to only sojourn. In addition, policies that prohibit or at least discourage family members from obtaining visas and citizenship diminish the flow of immigrants from Latin America, whose families had originally migrated from Japan and who now seek residence and citizenship with their extended families who remained in Japan (Narzary 2004).

ACTIVISTS RESPOND

In 2005, an independent investigator on racism and xenophobia for the United Nations reported that although racism in Japan is deep and profound, the government does not recognize the depth of the problem (Diene 2006). He urged the nation to address this problem through legislative action in order to meet its commitments to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which Japan signed in 1995. Furthermore, he urged that the new laws and policies should be developed in consultation with minority populations (Hogg 2005).

In 2010, another human rights report from the United Nations noted that problems persisted (Bustamante 2011). Furthermore, it argued that immigration laws that do not prevent the separation of families are inhumane. "In accordance with the principle of the best interest of the child, families should not be separated. It also raised concerns about the detention of illegal migrants, including parents with children, as well as asylum seekers, often for years, recommending that 'a

maximum period of detention pending deportation should be set' (Asia News 2010). The report concludes "Racism and discrimination based on nationality are still too common in Japan, including in the workplace, in schools, in health care establishments and housing." The invitation to the United Nations reporters from the Japanese government to at least investigate the problems indicates an increased commitment to recognizing the issues, but many problems remain (United Nations 2010b).

Japan faces serious issues regarding racism, including the (1) invisibility of racial/ethnic minorities and (2) governmental policies and rhetoric that value and privilege the dominant ethnic Japanese over indigenous populations, historically oppressed groups, and Old and New Foreigners. The situation, however, may be changing as minority groups become more visible and activists bring their case to the world community. One of the teachers in Takeuchi's (2009) research explained that "discrimination is like someone stepping on someone's foot . . . The person who does the stepping is not usually aware of having done so. Although, it is painful to be stepped on, the reaction of the stepping person would be, 'Really? We didn't know that'" (Takeuchi 2009, 233). Activists in Japan are making sure that those doing the stepping are fully aware of their misplaced steps and that they take care not to continue.

Japanese society today is characterized by two opposing sociopolitical forces. One is the state, which is attempting to reinforce the supposed homogeneity of the nation. The other is grassroots organizations and local communities, which are struggling to mediate serious tensions between ethnic Japanese and immigrants and pushing for multicultural solutions (Takeuchi 2009).

Racism in Japan has also gained the attention of national and international activists. Activists, for example, were able to get Ainu recognized as an ethnic minority through a court ruling in 1997. The ruling requires all local and regional governments to develop programs to promote Ainu culture and traditions, cancels previous laws that discriminated against the Ainu, and commands the Government of Hokkaidō to return Ainu communal assets. Activists still have work to do; the law stopped short of asserting that Ainu people deserve special rights as a distinct racial/ethnic group and civil rights protection.

The United Nations, as we have noted, has also joined activists in reviewing the problems in Japan, especially among migrants, and making recommendations for addressing issues of discrimination. Box 7.1 lists some of its recommendations.

BOX 7.1

United Nations Recommendations on Immigrant Rights in Japan

1. A clear and comprehensive immigration policy should be adopted, which would go beyond managing the entry and stay of migrants. It should establish institutionalized programs designed to create the necessary conditions for the integration of migrants into Japanese society and the respect of their rights to work, health, housing, and education, without discrimination.
2. Japan should adopt specific legislation on the prevention and elimination of racial discrimination in the workplace, schools, healthcare establishments, and housing.
3. Industrial trainees and technical intern programs must be discontinued and replaced by an employment program because intern programs often fuel demands for exploitative cheap labor under conditions that constitute violations of the right to physical and mental health, physical integrity, freedom of expression, and movement of foreign trainees and interns. In some cases, this may well amount to slavery.
4. Urgent measures should be taken within the judiciary and law enforcement agencies to guarantee the effective implementation of the rights of foreigners without discrimination.
5. Clear criteria should be established limiting the detention of irregular migrants to those cases where it is strictly necessary and avoiding detaining persons who are ill or who are the parents of minor children. A maximum period of detention pending deportation should be set, appropriate healthcare should be provided to migrants in detention centers, and the effective mechanisms to monitor human rights violations should be put in place.
6. In order to address the high incidence of domestic violence against migrant women and their children, appropriate policies should be adopted and implemented urgently.
7. Governmental efforts should be increased to facilitate foreign children studying either in Japanese or foreign schools and learning Japanese. Furthermore, in accordance with the principle of the best interest of the child, children should not be separated from their parents because of their irregular residence status.

Source: United Nations. 2010. *UN migrants' rights expert urges Japan to increase protection of migrants*.

March 31. <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=9950&LangID=E>

ETHNONATIONALISM

There are two ways of thinking about national identity. One is a liberal view that all people who live within a country's borders are part of the nation, regardless of their racial/ethnic origins. The other view is called *ethnonationalism*. The core of the ethnonationalist idea is that nations are defined by a shared heritage, which usually includes a common language, a common faith, and a common racial/ethnic ancestry (Muller 2008). Japan illustrates the tension between these two points of view. In the next section, we will look at one of the most dreadful examples of what can happen if ethnonationalism becomes the dominant ideology and a tool in the hands of people who are willing to stop at nothing to achieve their goal of a "racial purity."

A Calamity Almost Beyond Comprehension

The *Holocaust*, a calamity almost beyond comprehension (Du Bois 1945, 70), refers to the imprisonment, forced labor, and murder of millions of people by the Nazis in early twentieth-century Europe. Communists, Socialists, Roma (Box 7.2), the disabled, Poles, Russians, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and Jews were arrested, stripped of their belongings, forced to work in death camps, subjected to hideous "medical" experiments, starved, beaten, tortured, and murdered (Berenbaum 1990; Dallin 1981; Gellately and Stoltzfus 2001; Plant 1986; Rossino 2003). Figure 7.2 shows a list of the people who were targeted by the Nazis.

At least eight million people were executed. By far, the largest population of those who were attacked by the Nazis were Jews (Landau 1994). Before the Holocaust, about nine million Jewish people lived in Europe. By the end of World War II and the defeat of the Nazis, six million Jewish people had been murdered in the death camps (US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2014b). The Holocaust is sometimes called *Shoah*, which is the Hebrew word for destruction and catastrophe. Using the word *Shoah* brings attention to the fact that such a large proportion of those murdered by the Nazis in their death camps were Jewish.

When the Nazi party came to power in Germany in 1933, they began to systematically isolate Jewish people from the rest of the German population by passing anti-Jewish legislation, enforcing economic boycotts of the Jewish community, and using direct violence. Laws barred Jews from school and professions. Jewish doctors were not allowed to treat anyone who was not Jewish; Jewish actors were not allowed to perform in public; and Jews were not allowed to slaughter animals, which

BOX 7.2

Roma in Europe

Roma, who are sometimes called travelers, are a racial/ethnic group who originally came from northern India many centuries ago and now live in Europe. Roma are also often called Gypsies, but this word is now considered offensive. Roma have been excluded and oppressed throughout their history and continue to face discrimination and violence. Like Jewish people under the Nazi regime, Roma were defined as non-Aryans and were placed in concentration camps and targeted for extermination. About one million Roma, 25% of the total population, were killed in the death camps or in the streets (Gunther 2012).

Today, Roma continue to be targeted by European governments. Most notably, the French government has implemented massive expulsions of Roma. In 2010, President Sarkozy ordered the demolition of Roma camps and the repatriation or expulsion of Roma to Romania and Bulgaria. When Roma are repatriated, they leave voluntarily (although they may be given little choice by authorities) and are given a small amount of money and plane tickets. Since Sarkozy's order, the destruction of camps and the persecution and expulsion of thousands of Roma has continued. In addition, other European nations have followed suit with similar policies (Astier 2014).

Avoiding deportation does not mean that Roma are without problems. Those who manage to stay in Europe lead difficult lives (European Roma Rights Centre 2010). Recent reports on living conditions of Roma assert that they "continue to be subject to direct and systemic discrimination and exclusion in education resulting from a variety of interrelated factors including poor conditions of life, especially high unemployment, substandard housing conditions and poor access to health services" (Gunther 2012, 210).

meant they could not provide kosher meat for the community. Jewish people were not allowed to be treated in hospitals, and they were not allowed to marry or have sexual relations with non-Jews. Judges could not cite commentaries that had been written by Jewish authors.

One of the most infamous examples of violence against the Jewish community occurred on the night of November 9, 1938, when the Nazis destroyed synagogues and the shop windows of Jewish-owned stores throughout Germany and Austria. This event is now known as the *Kristallnacht* pogrom or "Night of Broken Glass" (Steinweis 2009). The intention of the Nazis was to force Jewish people to leave the country.

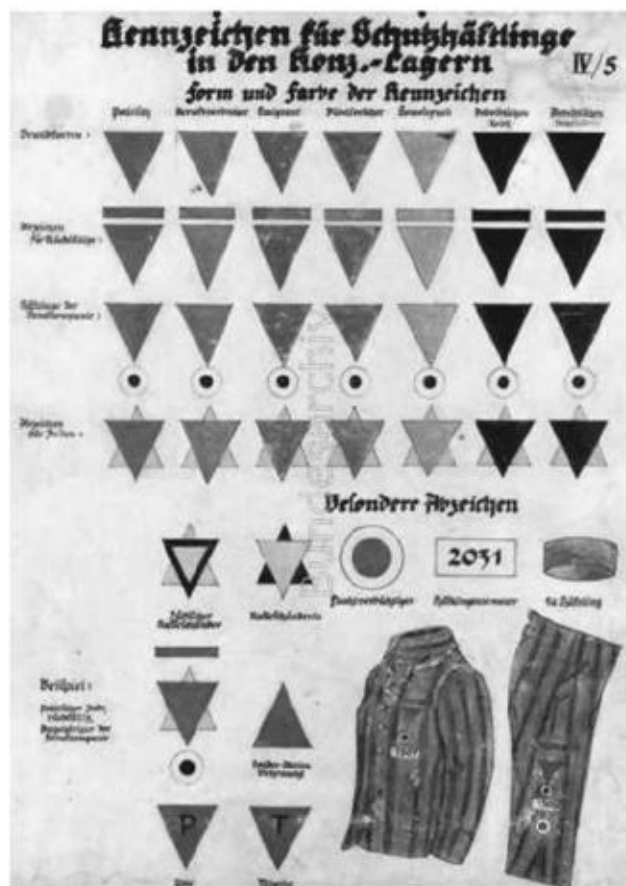


FIGURE 7.2

People who were targeted by the Nazis to be sent to death camps were required to wear badges of various colors and shapes. The chart is from the archives of the German government documenting the Nazi era. Each column is a different color:

The first column is red designating political prisoners (communists and union activists).

The second column is green designating criminals.

The third column is blue designating foreigners.

The fourth column is purple designating Jehovah's Witnesses.

The fifth column is pink designating homosexuals.

The sixth column is black designating "asocials" which included prostitutes, vagrants, lesbians, and those who violated laws prohibiting sexual intercourse between Aryans and Jews.

The seventh column is brown designating Roma people.

Some patches included letters on the triangles to further distinguish among the various groups in the camps. For example, the P stands for Polish and the T for Czech. The red and white target symbol indicated those who had attempted to escape.

All Jewish people were required to wear a yellow six pointed star (double triangle) whether they had been interred or not.

The striped suit at the bottom shows the uniform worn by prisoners in the camps.

(o.Ang./Bundesarchiv)

By 1939, the Nazis began to deport Polish and western European Jews to ghettos restricting them to small overcrowded and unsanitary neighborhoods walled off from the surrounding communities. The ghettos were like prisons; the residents were not allowed to leave. Adding to the horror, the Nazis set a food ration for Jews of just 181 calories a day. In the Warsaw ghetto alone, more than 5,000 people died every month from starvation and disease (US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2014a).

Eventually, the Nazis began to assassinate entire communities with mobile gas vans, which were paneled trucks with exhaust pipes reconfigured to pump poisonous carbon monoxide gas into sealed spaces, killing those locked within. In 1941, this technique developed into the *Final Solution*. Under the code name Operation Reinhard, Nazi leaders killing centers in Poland and Germany with the sole purpose of the mass murder of Jews (Rossino 2003). Millions of Jewish people were shipped by train to the extermination camps. By the time the war ended, two-thirds of the Jews who had lived in Europe had been killed (US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2014a).

The Nazis maintained that Germans were *Aryans*, a superior race and that the Jews were non-Aryans, a racially inferior and alien threat to the so-called German racial community. In 1935, the *Nuremberg Laws* racially defined Jewish people by “blood” and ordered the total separation of so-called Aryans and non-Aryans. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 did not identify a “Jew” as someone with particular religious beliefs. Instead, the first amendment to the Nuremberg Laws defined as a Jew anyone who had at least three Jewish grandparents regardless of whether that individual recognized himself or herself as a Jew or belonged to the Jewish religious community (US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2014a).

The Silent Majority

There is much debate about what other countries in the world knew about the death camps, when they knew it, whether they acted too late, or what they should have done to end the camps during the war (Browning 1993; Goldhagen 1997; Hilberg 1993; Jones 2009;). There is no doubt, however, that the world was stunned by the photos of the dead and dying imprisoned in the camps when the American and Soviet troops arrived to liberate them. The following quotation is attributed to Martin Niemöller (US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2014a):

First they came for the communists, and I did not speak out—
because I was not a communist;

Then they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out—
because I was not a socialist;

Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak
out—because I was not a trade unionist;

Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out—because
I was not a Jew;

Then they came for me—and there was no one left to speak
out for me.

Niemöller was a protestant minister in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s. When the Nazis first came to power, he was sympathetic to the Nazi agenda because he was anticommunist and anti-Semitic, which means that he was prejudiced against or hated Jewish people. As the Nazis continued to build their assault against targeted groups within Germany, Niemöller became more and more critical of the Nazis and of his own *anti-Semitism*, and eventually he was sent to a death camp; he was imprisoned at Dachau for several years before the end of World War II and the defeat of the Nazis. After the war, he was one of the first Germans to come forward to admit his complicity in the Holocaust because of his delay in speaking out and acting out against the Nazis, especially with regard to their attacks on Jewish people (US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2014a).

The poem tells us that racism can start with what seems to be events and problems that are not part of our world or our responsibility. History shows us how quickly ethnonationalism can transform into genocide of those who are perceived as not belonging to the community, the nation, and ultimately the human race. The poem calls on us to take action when human rights are violated, even those of humans with whom we disagree.

RECOGNIZING HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights are those activities, conditions, and freedoms that all human beings are entitled to enjoy, by virtue of their humanity. They include civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Human rights are inherent, inalienable, interdependent, and indivisible, meaning they cannot be granted or taken away, the enjoyment of one right affects the enjoyment of others, and they must all be respected." (*International Justice Resource Center n.d.*)

A human rights framework has been suggested as a way to help identify racism as well as a way to address racial injustice (United Nations 2014b). Human rights protect individuals from government action that would threaten or harm certain freedoms thought to be fundamental, such as life, physical integrity, and liberty. International human rights law, therefore, is a primarily a set of rules requiring governments (states) to ensure that people can enjoy those fundamental freedoms. The central premise behind international human rights law is: because states (governments) are the institutions in a position to violate individuals' freedoms, protection of those freedoms may be hard to come by without international consensus and oversight. Ethnonationalism is an international and transnational issue, and it will require both a focus on human rights and an international approach (International Justice Resource Center n.d.).

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

Monoethnicity; Ainu (Utari); Burakumin; Okinawans; *Zainichi* Koreans; New Foreigners; Old Foreigners; *Nikkeijin*, three K jobs; *Nihonjinron*; ethnonationalism; Holocaust; Kristallnacht; Final Solution/Operation Reinhard; Aryan; Roma; Nazi; anti-Semitism; Nuremberg laws; human rights

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Does your thinking about race/ethnicity—the way you identify yourself and the way you see others—incorporate the idea of color lines? How did the examples of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany and the division of racial/ethnic groups in Japan change your thinking about how to define race/ethnicity?
2. How would you describe diversity in Japan? How does *Nihonjinron* obscure diversity in Japan? Do you see any parallels between *Nihonjinron* and the rhetoric and discourse of your own nation?
3. What is ethnonationalism and how is reflected in the two societies represented in this chapter?
4. Martin Niemöller says that we should stand up and protest human rights abuses. Do you agree with his position? What is our responsibility to find out about human rights abuses in our own community? In other places? What should we do when find out about them?

8



THE COLOR FACTOR: HIGHLIGHTING BRAZIL AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

FIGURE 8.0

Two images of pride in Brazil: soccer and a higher education system that seeks to promote both high quality education and the inclusion of people from all racial/ethnic groups through affirmative action programs.
(© iStock.com/3dfoto)

Brazil has often been described as a raceless society—one where people originally came from many different places but then created a new Brazilian culture into which they all assimilated. Scholars and political figures have argued that although Brazil shared with the United States a long and horrible history of slavery, Brazil had been able to overcome prejudice and discrimination, as well as institutional racism, because of the high rates of marriage among different racial/ethnic groups. This view has now been discredited, and racial/ethnic inequality has been recognized as a serious social problem in Brazil. To address these problems, strong affirmative action programs have been put into place.

This chapter begins with a review of Brazil's history. It considers the development of the changing notion of racial democracy and its link to the concepts and practices of miscegenation; whitening; and the relatively recent recognition that racial/ethnic injustice and inequality are serious problems as measured by enormous gaps in differences in access to housing, jobs, and education. Then the chapter explores the conceptualization of race/ethnicity and the violent racism directed against Haitians by both individuals and the government of the Dominican Republic. The next section discusses some of the solutions that social policies offer to these problems and the radical steps the Brazilian government has taken to acknowledge and address the inequities through affirmative action programs, especially in education. The last section of the chapter examines the theoretical question of seeing the United States as the prototype for understanding racism as if this social construct does

not vary depending on its social context. The concept of the color line and race/ethnicity as a floating signifier are reviewed as examples of the kinds of similarities and contrasts we see in the racial/ethnic systems in Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and the United States.

FROM SLAVERY TO RACIAL/ETHNIC DEMOCRACY

Brazil is a nation of many different racial/ethnic groups. We learned in Chapter 3 that during the transatlantic slave trade, Brazil received the largest numbers of people who were shipped from Africa to work as slaves—eleven times more than were brought to the United States. This makes Brazil the largest slaveholding nation in the world. Brazil also was the last nation to abolish slavery in 1888 (Bernardino-Costa and Rosa 2012). Currently, three times more Brazilians than Americans are of African origin, and Nigeria is the only nation with a larger population of people of African descent (Gates 2011). In addition, thousands of European colonizers, mostly Portuguese, came to Brazil to settle and to run the mines and plantations. Furthermore, like the rest of the Western Hemisphere, hundreds of indigenous groups—millions of people—lived in South America before European contact. Although communities were decimated and in some cases entire cultures eliminated, many people of indigenous ancestry still live in Brazil today. Brazil has been a mix of all of these groups for centuries, and throughout that history, race/ethnicity and racism have been salient issues with profound effects on the lives of the people who live in Brazil.

Beliefs about race and racial inequality in Brazil have moved through three historical stages (Telles 2004, 6):

1. Belief that there is little or no race discrimination but rather great fluidity among people, the idea of racial democracy
2. Belief that racial/ethnic discrimination is widespread but transitory
3. Belief that racial/ethnic discrimination is persistent and structural

During the first stage, until the last half of the twentieth century, many Brazilians, especially political leaders claimed that racism did not exist. They asserted that the many different strands of humanity that make up

the Brazilian population socialize, reside together, and biologically mixed to the point that racial/ethnic distinctions had become unimportant. In 1970, for example, the Brazilian Foreign Minister stated in a report of the Committee for Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination: "There is no racial discrimination in Brazil; there is no need to take any sporadic measures whatsoever of a legislative, judicial or administration nature to ensure the equality of races in Brazil" (quoted in Telles 2003, 58). Brazilian scholars joined the chorus, and they too claimed that racism had been overcome by assimilation. You should recall from the discussion of assimilation in Chapter 1 that some theorists argue that the result of many different kinds of people coming together can end in assimilation, where the different groups become more similar and tensions based on differences are therefore reduced and racism diminished. This first stage in the development of ideas about race and racism in Brazil was marked by the belief that assimilation had occurred in Brazil.

Miscegenation

Many Brazilian scholars and the general public thought that because people in Brazil had intermarried so much, their children had become biologically and socially assimilated. Perhaps because of the fact that the Portuguese sent mostly men, rather than families, to colonize Brazil, the intermarriage or at least sexual relationships of European/Portuguese men and indigenous and African women (who were brought as slaves) was inevitable (Telles 2007). The word that is often used to describe this kind of intermarriage across so-called race lines is *miscegenation*. The term has been used since the nineteenth century to refer to interracial marriage and interracial sex and more generally to the process of racial admixture.

The word miscegenation was invented in the late nineteenth century by a proslavery journalist in the United States who put together two Latin words: *miscere*, which means to mix, and *genus*, which means a subdivision within a biological system. The term was first used in a pamphlet advocating interracial marriage during Abraham Lincoln's campaign for president. The authors wanted to embarrass Lincoln by claiming that the pamphlet was written by an abolitionist, hoping that he would therefore endorse it. They believed that the idea of interracial marriage was so outrageous that most people, even those who were against slavery, would be repelled and then discount the abolitionist movement and Lincoln's campaign. Lincoln did not endorse the pamphlet, and the

hoax of the pamphlet was found out (Kadish 2014). The word miscegenation came to be understood as indicating an unacceptable practice and was brought into common usage by lawmakers who wrote so-called antimiscegenation laws that barred people from marrying someone from another racial/ethnic group. The laws were part of the apartheid systems that lasted until the 1960s in the United States and the 1990s in South Africa.

Because the word has historically been used in the context of laws banning interracial marriage and sexual relationships, many people now consider it offensive (Newman 1999). Today, the word miscegenation is avoided by most scholars because the term suggests a distinct biological phenomenon rather than a categorization imposed on certain relationships. That is, the word miscegenation implies that (1) humans come in different biological categories and (2) marriage or sex between members of two groups is crossing some kind of distinct and taboo barrier. Because the word is considered offensive, other terms such as interracial, interethnic, or cross-cultural are more common in contemporary usage in the United States. In Brazil, however, a Portuguese version (*mestiçagem* or *miscegenação*) of the term is used as a positive one celebrating the personal relationships of people from different racial/ethnic groups and the source of what they believe is their multi-colored nonracial society (Telles 2004).

In 1933, Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre published his famous book *Casa-Grande & Senzala* ("The Masters and the Slaves"). The book appeared at a moment when there was a widespread belief among social scientists all over the world, including in Brazil, that some races were superior to others. Also, you should note that it was published just at the time the Nazi Party in Germany was coming to power. In Brazil, two perspectives dominated the discourse. Both were consistent with the Nazi ideology claiming that the Brazilian people were inferior because of their mixed heritage of European, African, and Amerindian ancestry. The first was the idea that in order for the country to survive and prosper it needed to be whitened. White people/Europeans needed to dominate all others. White people needed to become the majority population and they needed to control its social institutions. Box 8.1 discusses the idea of *whitening* or *blanqueamiento*, the term used in Brazil. The second perspective was even more racist. It argued that so-called mixed blood created lazy, weak, and lascivious individuals who were incapable of building a viable modern nation (Arocena 2008).

BOX 8.1

Whitening/Blanqueamiento

As part of the effort to promote assimilation in Brazil, authorities used a policy called *whitening*. Based on the belief that Brazil needed to whiten its population, Europeans were encouraged to immigrate to South America (Telles 2004). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Brazilian government subsidized immigrant travels, bringing people to settle in Brazil, initially from Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Eastern Europe. At the same time, Brazilian law prohibited the immigration of Africans to Brazil until 1934 (Berardino-Costa and Rosa 2012). The idea was that (1) white Europeans would be invited to live in Brazil and to make their home there and (2) eventually they would intermarry with Brazilians from other racial/ethnic groups and thereby “whiten” the population. Of course, this was not just a matter of aesthetics. It was based on the idea that whiter people were superior in some way and their genes would improve the stock of humans in Brazil.

This policy was also practiced in South Africa during the apartheid era when white British people, especially young married couples, were recruited to settle in South Africa. In other places, such as the United States, this kind of immigration policy was not explicitly articulated. Policies about who can enter the country and become a citizen of the United States, however, have reflected a similar mentality because more slots have historically been open to immigrants from Europe than from other nations. And this practice continues today. In addition, some nonwhite populations have explicitly been barred from immigrating to the United States. For example, American laws in the nineteenth century required Chinese workers to remain sojourners. Although Chinese men were welcomed into the United States to work on projects such as the transcontinental railroad, they were not allowed to bring their wives and children with them and they were discouraged from seeing themselves as permanent immigrants.

In Chapter 7, we saw that the Japanese government actively recruited people from Brazil whose ancestors were Japanese to return to Japan in order to provide labor and to ensure that the gene pool remained “pure” Japanese. Whitening in Brazil, as well as South Africa and United States, was based on the same premise. But color (white) was the critical element to be preserved.

Freyre’s ([1933] 1946) work was an important challenge to this kind of thinking in Brazil, especially among the white Brazilian elite because Freyre was an elite white Brazilian (Gates 2011). In his book, Freyre argued against the idea that Brazil had an inferior race because of

the race-mixing by taking what was seen as a problem and turning it into a virtue (Arocena 2008). According to Arocena (2008, 4), Freyre wrote:

It is not that in the Brazilian, as in the Anglo American, two enemy halves subsist: the white and the black; the ex-master and the ex-slave. We are two halves in fraternization, mutually enriching, with diverse experiences and values: when we are complete as a whole, it will not be by sacrificing one element to the detriment of another.

Freyre ([1933] 1946) took the ideas that were written into the hoax pamphlet introducing the term miscegenation in the United States and advocated for intermarriage as a way to improve the gene pool in Brazil. Furthermore, he noted that this had long been the practice of Brazilians who were therefore better off genetically than those populations that had remained segregated from others. Freyre emphasized the positive elements of Brazilian culture and argued that they were a result of miscegenation. Freyre's book played a critical role in changing the discourse and ideology in Brazil regarding the so-called mixing of races. *Mesticagem* became a source of national pride rather than a reason to regard Brazil as a nation of inferior people.

Although Freyre's ideas advocated a way of denouncing racism, it also created the Brazilian myth of racial/ethnic democracy, leading people to claim that Brazil was a postracial country. But how valid is this belief? Is Brazil a place where race/ethnicity is irrelevant and racial/ethnic inequality has been eliminated? In the 1950s, another Brazilian scholar, Florestan Fernandes (1965), held that the notion of racial/ethnic democracy in Brazil was a myth. Fernandes challenged Freyre and the North American scholars who were studying Brazil as a model of racial/ethnic harmony under a grant from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The question of whether racial/ethnic democracy was a myth or not persisted, but most scholars, especially those from Brazil, now have accepted Fernandes's view and argue that despite much intermarriage, Brazil still has serious problems regarding inequality among various racial/ethnic groups. In addition, they argue that inequality is structured into social institutions such as the economy, the political system, and the educational system (Telles 2007).

Research on economic issues and political representation reveal significant gaps between the haves and the have-nots in Brazil. Furthermore,

the gaps between those who have and those who do not fall along racial/ethnic lines. Darker Brazilians on average earn less than half of what lighter Brazilians earn, and only about 30 percent of employers are not white. The middle class and the elite are almost entirely white, and black Brazilians were rarely found in Brazil's top universities until the recent introduction of affirmative action programs (Telles 2009). Also, black Brazilians are not found in the most prestigious occupations. For example, in 2000, 86 percent of physicians were white. Hypothetical projections at that time showed that even if all of the seats in medical school were reserved for black people only, it would take 25 years for the number of black physicians to equal that of white physicians (Berardino-Costa and Rosa 2012).

White Racial Frame

One explanation for how huge social gaps can become invisible is found in the work of Joe Feagin, who outlines his idea of the *white racial frame* and how it operates to obscure our understanding and acknowledgment of racism. The concept of the white racial frame was developed within the context of the organization of race/ethnicity in the United States. However, its essence is valid, if not the specific examples Feagin describes, in our understanding of the way in which ideologies serve to perpetuate systems of inequality, including the one in Brazil.

A racial frame is an organized set of racial ideas, narratives, and stereotypes that provides an interpretive scheme to evaluate everyday events and helps us to make sense of our social experience. A white racial frame provides a rationale for the oppression of other racial/ethnic groups and presents whiteness as virtuous and good in contrast to negative stereotypes of people of color. For example, the frame includes racial/ethnic stereotypes and metaphors such as dark and black to mean evil and dangerous. It also includes images such as those that appear in films of hypersexualized Asian women or violent African men and the emotions associated with these stereotypes, such as fear of individuals, neighborhoods, and even entire nations and continents, because they are populated by particular racial/ethnic groups (Said 1978). The frame also promotes and justifies discriminatory behavior from wariness to avoidance, segregation, and taking violent action to prevent association with people who are not white (Feagin 2010).

The frame is generated and fostered by white elites who dominate social institutions such as academia, faith-based agencies, media, and political discourse. The messages, however, become so ubiquitous they

appear to be natural and become invisible. And it is perhaps their invisibility that makes the frame most powerful because it is nearly impossible to criticize or alter a set of ideas and practices about which no one is fully aware (Feagin 2010).

White people are more likely to see the world through the white racial frame, but not all white people take this point of view. At the same time, people of color are much less likely to see the world through the white racial frame, but many people of color do take this point of view.

Joe Feagin (2010) coined the term white racial frame and has written extensively about it. He proposed the following characteristics of the frame:

- Virtuous whiteness includes the lack of acknowledgment or minimization of any racist behavior or ideas. When race or racism is brought up, someone who sees the world through a white racial frame dismisses the problem saying that these problems are not part of my world. This person might say, "I am not a racist and people who talk about race and racism make me uncomfortable and are just causing problems."
- Virtuous whiteness is evident in a lack of interest in addressing one's own racism or considering the problem in a more formal setting. For example, if you look at the students in the Africana Studies department at your university, you would probably see that most of the students are not white. Why is that the case? The white racial frame suggests that it is because white students are not comfortable looking at the problem of race/ethnicity and racism and/or they feel it is not their problem to be bothered with.
- Virtuous whiteness includes a strong sense of personal and group entitlement. One situation where you might see this idea present itself is in discussions of reparations. Reparations are payment that are made to people who have been or whose ancestors have been exploited by racist policies and practices. For example, Brown University in the United States was built by slave labor. Some African Americans have demanded that the university pay reparations to the African American community by providing scholarships to African American students today. Debates around these kinds of proposals bring out the idea of personal and group entitlement among those who are against reparations.

They might say that although slavery was a horrendous practice, addressing that history of racism must not go so far as to alter the current lives of white people today. Their assumption is that we (white people and institutions) are entitled to maintain the status quo even if that status quo was built on the exploitation of people of color.

- Virtuous whiteness includes the belief that European Americans are the peak of humanity and white Americans are the epitome of human accomplishments. White Americans are seen as superior in knowledge, markets, technology, and political institutions. This implies that everyone who is not a white American should strive to become one. Recently, for example, a Duke University professor offered his view of racial/ethnic injustice by saying that black Americans were never going to be acceptable (fully human) members of society if they persist in setting themselves apart. He was especially distressed that black Americans frequently have names that are not common among Anglo-Americans (Craven 2015). A corollary of this characteristic of the white frame is that there is no possibility of wisdom coming from the margins. White people have nothing to learn from those who are not white.
- White virtuousness includes the denial of racism's magnitude and impact. Throughout this book, we have seen the profound effect of racism across the globe. Most people you know, however, are probably not well acquainted with the history and current organization of racism. They may have given little thought to how deep and long the history of racism has been and how important that history is to our current experience.
- White virtuousness embraces the idea that "we are postracial here." Despite research that shows how central race/ethnicity and racism continue to be significant in our social experience, many people believe that although racism was a serious problem in the past, it is no longer central to our lives.

Feagin and Elias (2013) write that the ideology of virtuous whiteness along with the negative stereotypes of people of color that "justify" racism are part of personalities, our beliefs, our relationships, and our social institutions. They are, however, not invincible. Just as we have created a white framework, we can create counter frameworks to challenge and eliminate the white framework.

Color Lines in Brazil

How do Brazilians today understand race and color and how does their understanding differ from the dominant ideology in the United States, another nation where color is central to the concept of race/ethnicity and the history of racial/ethnic injustice? In Brazil, skin color is the basis of ideas about how to distinguish among racial/ethnic groups. Those who have darker skin are devalued compared to those who have lighter skin. A system of grouping people based on color has names for different groups. The number of groups and their labels, however, are an issue of contention among Brazilians.

The Brazilian census classifies the population into five categories from which each person is supposed to choose their identity: branco (white), pardo (brown), preto (black), amarelo (yellow), and indigenous. Brazilian people, however, have other ideas. They have a much more elaborate system for classifying themselves. One researcher, Petrucelli, found dozens of possible racial/ethnic categories that related to skin color mentioned by participants (2007). Some of the categories referred to natural skin color and others to skin color and exposure to the sun, others to the combination of skin color and hair color. A long list emerged from the question "what is your race?" They included *amerela* (yellow), *bem morena* (and hair), *branca-morena* (white-brown), *branca-queimada* (burned white), *corada* (flushed), *bronzada* (tanned), *meio morena* (medium brown), *morena-bronzada* (dark tanned), *morena-trigueira* (swarthy brunette), *pouco morena* (a little brunette), *queimada* (burned), *queimada de sol* (sunburned), *tostada* (toasted), *rosa queimada* (burnt pink), *preto* (black), *negro* (black/dark), *escuro* (dark), *crioulo* (creole), *retinto* (deep purple), *cor-de-leite* (color of milk), *Galega* (Galician), *rosa* (pink), *pálida* (pale), *parda* (brown), *mulata* (mulatto), *mestiça* (mixed race), *mista* (mixed), and, *branca clara* (clear white). Petrucelli (2007) argues that the system used by most Brazilians, however, is not quite so elaborate. About 97 percent of the listed identities fell into seven categories: branco, pardo, moreno, preto, negro, mestiço, and mulatto (Telles 2004).

Scholars who study Brazil increasingly use the term exclusion to describe the situation of people who are not white in Brazil. *Social exclusion* refers to the "lack of social integration which is manifested in rules constraining the access of particular groups or persons to resources or limiting their access to citizenship rights" (Telles 2004, 5). The exclusion of people of color has become an important counter ideology to the assertion that race mixture has eliminated or at least greatly diminished

racial/ethnic inequality in Brazil. Edward Telles concludes that both the pro-Freyre and the revisionist are correct. Unlike scholars who have taken one side or the other on this question, Telles argues that race mixture and racial/ethnic exclusion coexist. Brazil is marked by a great deal of mixing of racial groups through intermarriage but exclusion and inequality remain. Recent legislation as we will explore below, however, appears to be aggressively addressing those problems. But first, let us look at another country where the color line is important but is understood differently than either in Brazil or the United States.

ANTI-HAITIANISM IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Both the United States and Brazil have racial/ethnic systems that emphasize color, but as we have seen in this chapter, the two systems differ in regard to how they divide people up. A *racial schema* is “a bundle of racial categories and the set of rules for what they mean, how they are ordered, and how to apply them to oneself and others” (Roth 2012, 12). The United States and Brazil are among many nations in which color plays a central role in their racial schema, but their racial schemata are quite different. Another striking comparison in how color is perceived differently and how those perceptions have influenced racist interactions, policies, and even genocide is revealed in the different racial schemata in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. These two countries share a small island in the Caribbean called Hispaniola, and in both nations color is fundamental to the way people identify themselves and others as members of particular race/ethnicities. The systems of race/ethnicities they have created, however, are very different. In Haiti, the African heritage of the people is acknowledged and accepted, whereas in the Dominican Republic, there is a desire to deny or erase African roots (Wigginton 2005).

In the Dominican Republic, people identify themselves and nearly all other Dominicans as *indio*, which refers to the indigenous population of *Taino* who once lived on Hispaniola. Soon after the Europeans landed in the sixteenth century, however, the *Taino* had been killed, either purposefully by the Spanish and Portuguese sailors or by the diseases they brought with them. The people who now live in Dominican Republic are descendants of those Europeans and the African people who were brought as slaves to work on the island. The *Taino* had little chance to pass on their genes or their culture to the people who live in Hispaniola today. Nevertheless, the nation-building narrative promoted by the

Dominican government maintains that Dominicans are a mixed race whose ancestors came from Spain and the indigenous population. Most Dominicans claim to be a mixed race they call *indio* and refer to racial diversity by color, calling themselves and other Dominicans *indio* (light indian), *indio oscuro* (dark Indian) *moreno* (medium-brown), *jabao* (yellowish complexion with African features), *negro lavao* (literally, a washed black person), or *blanco jipato* (fair complexion with African features) (Wigginton 2005). In one family, one might have three children that are of different racial/ethnic categories but all *indio*. One category in their racial schema, black, is used to refer to only a small segment of Dominicans who are looked down on because black is considered an inferior and foreign group. Even though Dominicans are descended overwhelmingly from people who came from Africa, not from the Tiano people who were all, or nearly all, killed, and even though they view themselves as predominately of a mixed race they exclude black people and African culture from their mixed identity (Candelario 2007; Simmons 2009). The term *black* is used by Dominicans and especially the Dominican government to refer mostly to Haitian citizens and Haitian immigrants who are considered an inferior and undesirable group.

The Dominican government has a long history of policies designed to exclude and discriminate against Haitians. In 1937, the government of the Dominican Republic massacred 20,000 thousand Haitians along the border. The president of the country at that time, Rafael Trujillo, and his supporters coined the term *Dominicanization* to describe their efforts to clearly mark the border between the two countries, underscoring the difference between a black Haiti and a white Dominican Republic (Wigginton 2005). The oppression and violence against Haitians has continued since then and has recently been part of a national debate when the Dominican Supreme Court decided to revoke the citizenship of Dominicans of Haitian descent whose ancestors arrived since 1929 (John 2013). Since 2000, the government has intensified formal military and police roundups of migrants and settlers suspected to be of Haitian origin (because of their skin color), and as many as 12,000 people suspected of being Haitian are deported each year from the Dominican Republic. Some of the deportees are relatively recent Haitian immigrants, some are Dominicans whose parents or grandparents originally came from Haiti, and some are people who just "look" Haitian because they have dark skin (Howard 2001; Reynosa and Roberts 2006).

These violent and overtly racist actions by the government are the most egregious examples of the oppression of Haitians. Less obvious

day-to-day oppression, however, exists alongside of the violence in the lessons presented to school children in Dominican Republic (Wigginton 2005). Wigginton reviewed textbooks in the Dominican Republic and found that three antiblack themes were prevalent in the images in the children's lessons:

- Blackness represents less desirable social status.
- Blackness can be prevented through generational *blancamiento* (whitening).
- Blackness is represented by negative and exaggerated stereotypes.

At the same time that the violent oppression of people with darker complexions has escalated, the racial schema in the Dominican Republic is also being challenged in recent days. Some scholars have noted that educated Dominicans are beginning to experiment with a *mulatto* identity (mixed race between Europeans and Africans as opposed to *mestizo*, which refers to a mix between Europeans and indigenous) (Howard 2001; Telles and Paschel 2014). Box 8.2 describes the ways in which education and social status have varying effects on racial/ethnic identity in Latin America.

The racial schema in the Dominican Republic is also being challenged politically. Many Dominicans who disagree with the racist policies of their government are actively protesting the court rulings and the deportations (Telesur.tv.net 2015). Some of these changes in ideas about racial/ethnic identity have been associated with the outmigration of Dominicans into the United States, where they are confronted with the dominant American racial schema in which they are perceived as black (Roth 2012; Simmons 2009).

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN BRAZIL

In 1988, Brazil acknowledged its racial/ethnic diversity and asserted its responsibility to incorporate that diversity into its national identity. Racism was added to its constitution as a crime punishable by imprisonment, and affirmative action programs were implemented and quotas established. In 1995, the President, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, officially acknowledged that the country suffered from racism (Arocena 2008). The Statute on Racial Equality, which officially recognizes Brazil as a multiracial and multiethnic country where people of African descent have been subject to racial/ethnic discrimination, was passed in 2010.

BOX 8.2

Does Money Lighten?

Many people assume that in a society that values whiteness and wealth, wealthy black people may be able to boost themselves into a whiter category if they have enough money. And, in fact this idea of money lightening was embedded in a government policy in colonial Latin America called *gracias al sacar*, which allowed people—primarily mixed-race free individuals who had accumulated enough resources—to purchase certificates of whiteness from the crown (Gudmundson 1984; Telles and Flores 2013).

Edward Telles and Tiana Paschel (2014) decided to test this assumption in contemporary Latin America by looking at four nations where color was an important aspect of the racial/ethnic system and where white was more highly valued. The independent variables in their study were skin color measured by a color palette, education, and wealth. The dependent variable was racial/ethnic self-identification. They found that having money did interact with race/ethnicity but it did so in varying ways and did not always lighten people of higher status. Their research found that in Brazil this assumption was true. Wealthier people identified themselves as whiter than people with less money. However, another status factor, education, had a different effect. Well-educated people were more likely to identify as black in Brazil. The pattern in Brazil was a polarization of higher status people depending on the basis of their status.

A second pattern was found in Columbia where wealth did not affect racial identification but education did. Those people with higher status because of their higher levels of education identified as mestizo (mixed) rather than in lighter or darker categories. Higher status Columbians touted their racial mixture as evidence of their racial tolerance and moral superiority over places such as the United States, where elites promote racial purity and segregation.

A third pattern was found in the Dominican Republic where darkening, or the tendency for better educated/higher status individuals to identify in darker categories while wealth did not affect racial identification. The fourth pattern was no status effects—neither wealth nor education affected racial identification—which they found in Panama where higher status individuals by education or wealth were not more likely to identify with lighter or darker categories in their racial schema.

The law establishes an agency called the National System for the Promotion of Racial Equality; requires that schools at all levels include the history and culture of Afro-Brazilians in their curricula; prohibits racial and ethnic discrimination; protects Afro-Brazilian religions as a matter of freedom of expression; recognizes and provides financial help for *Marron* communities (*quilombolas*); and declares the Afro-Brazilian martial art, *capoeira*, an official sport worthy of government support (Feres, Daflon, and Campos 2011). The *Law of Social Quotas*, which mandates affirmative action policies, has also had a significant effect in Brazil.

B. R. Ambedkar is considered the father of the concept of affirmative action and the practice of positive discrimination policies. You should recall from Chapter 4 that Ambedkar was the leader of the Dalit movement to end the caste system in India and to bring Dalits into the mainstream of Indian society. He argued that it would be impossible to dismantle the caste system without adopting focused specific measures to address the problems faced by Dalits, who represented 65 percent of the population and had been oppressed for centuries. Following these pioneering efforts in India, several other nations adopted similar policies of preferential treatment for racial/ethnic minorities in Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Ghana, and Guinea (Petrucci 2007). You should recall from Chapter 6 that affirmative action plays a critical role in Malaysia in addressing tensions among different racial/ethnic groups in that nation.

"Affirmative action [*italics added*], in essence, is a form of justice that seeks to establish equality by using compensatory benefits to rectify past discrimination" (Bernardino-Costa and Rosa 2012, 5). The goal is to facilitate both peace and justice by righting previous wrongs, increasing justice, but also creating ways to avoid social conflict that arise out of injustice thereby bringing peace to the community. Some affirmative action programs take a soft approach, emphasizing outreach and training to enable disadvantaged groups to compete more effectively with dominant groups. Hard approaches require more compulsory changes such as prescriptive set-asides, quotas, and timetables. Brazil has implemented both of these with an emphasis on the hard approach (Bernardino-Costa and Rosa 2012).

In the past two decades, Brazil has begun to recognize racial/ethnic inequality as a problem and the government has created massive affirmative action programs in universities as a way to bring more people of color into higher education thereby tracking them into more prestigious and better paid occupations (Junior et al. 2011). In the early 2000s,

nearly 50 percent of the black population in Brazil had no schooling, compared with 25 percent of whites. Less than 2 percent of black Brazilians held an advanced degree, compared with 7 percent of whites. Almost 75 percent of undergraduates at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), the country's largest federal university, were white, even though only 54 percent of the population in the state of Rio de Janeiro is white (Feres, Daflon, and Campos 2011).

The path students take to a university education has been blamed for the discrepancy in the numbers of different racial/ethnic groups that attend university classes. In order to gain admission, students must score well on admissions examinations. Wealthy, more often white, parents send their children to prestigious private high schools that prepare students to do well on the admissions examinations. Poorer families, who are more often of color, do not have the funds to send their children to the prestigious high schools and therefore, they have less support in preparing for the examinations. Inequality is structured into the economic system, which in turn is structured into the secondary education system; this results in a huge gap between white and non-white students at the tertiary level (Telles and Paixao 2013).

The new legislation enacted in 2012, the Law of Social Quotas, began to address the gap by establishing quotas and reserving seats at universities for black and brown students (Telles 2004). The law was promoted by the last three presidents, Luiz Inácio, Lula da Silva, and Dilma Rousseff, and only one of Brazil's 81 senators voted against it. Other spheres of government have also supported affirmative action measures. The Brazilian Supreme Court unanimously upheld the racial/ethnic quotas enacted in 2004 by the University of Brasília, which reserved 20 percent of its spots for black and mixed-race students (Romero 2012). The Law of Social Quotas now requires public universities to assign spots according to the racial/ethnic makeup of each of the 26 states and the capital. Furthermore, Brazil now demands that its public universities reserve half of their admission spots for its low-income students (Rogers 2012). Because universities are free to those who are admitted, students who make it through the admissions process are assured a tertiary education. In addition, organizations such as Edcafro offer programs that prepare black and low-income students for university entrance examinations.

Much debate surrounded the passage of the quota laws. Some critics argued that the problems are a result of class inequality, not racial/ethnic inequality. Other critics maintained that affirmative action

would compromise the quality of Brazilian universities or cause a racial/ethnic divide within Brazilian society. They also asserted that it would be difficult to determine who belonged to the protected category of black; they argued “we are all mestizos (mixed)” (Berardino-Costa and Rosa 2012). The end result of the debates, however, has appeared to be that Brazilians now support the new laws as an affirmative action to correct the inequality in the country. In addition, they see it as reparations for the huge contribution made historically and continued today by people of African and indigenous descent (Bailey 2009). Jorge Werthein, director of the Brazilian Center for Latin American Studies explains, “Brazil owes a historical debt to a huge part of its own population. The democratization of higher education, which has always been a dream for the most neglected students in public schools, is one way of paying this debt” (quoted in Romero 2012).

Is Affirmative Action Reverse Discrimination?

Affirmative action has been criticized as a form of reverse discrimination. Omi and Winant (2014) argue that affirmative action is a *racial project* but not reverse discrimination. They define a racial project as one that both defines race/ethnicities and relationships among people of different race/ethnicities as well as reorganizes and redistributes resources along racial/ethnic lines. Racial projects can be racist or they may be ways of addressing racism. The key difference is that racist racial projects create or reproduce structures of domination based on race/ethnicity. Affirmative action programs and policies are a kind of racial project because they recognize the social categories of race/ethnicity and create ways to redistribute resources along racial/ethnic lines. According to Omi and Winant (2014), affirmative action is not racist, however, because it seeks to alter the dominant structures in ways that allow people to begin to build more equitable ones. Omi and Winant (2014) would call the affirmative action programs that boost the numbers of people of color in Brazilian universities a nonracist racial project; they would say, in fact, that it is serving to tear down the racist structures in the economy and in the education system that have kept people color out of higher education institutions.

THE COLOR LINE

Much that has been written about the color line comes from the work of scholars focusing on the case of the United States. The term *color line* emerged in the research and writing of W. E. B. Du Bois, an American

sociologist, who worked to understand the nature of race/ethnicity and racial/ethnic relations among Americans. In Chapter 7, Du Bois was quoted saying that the color line was the central question of the twentieth century. If he were alive today, he would probably extend that observation to the twenty-first century. Dubois wrote that the color line marked the seemingly impermeable dividing line between black and white in the United States (Lee and Bean 2007). His research explored the nature of this gap by looking at where it came from and especially how it was maintained in a way that created discrimination, hatred, and violence against black Americans.

Some scholars are now asking whether the color line has become an obsolete concept in the United States because of immigration, intermarriage, and a growing population of young people who do not identify as either black or white (Gans 1999). In the early twentieth century, the color line was written into law. Laws defined people as either "pure" white or other. White people were those who had not even one drop of blood other than white. Black people were considered nonwhite and so were many others groups: Japanese, Chinese, Asian Indians, Latinos, Native Americans, Italians, Eastern European Jews, and Irish. The color line, however, moved around and by the last half of the twentieth century, some people had moved to the white side of the line and the black white divide was further solidified.

Very recent changes in the American population suggest that the line is continuing to move, this time to a triracial divide that maintains the black white line but adds a second category of nonwhites who are also nonblacks (Bonilla-Silva 2004). In this system, white includes "pure" whites, assimilated white Latinos, some multiracial people, assimilated Native Americans, and a few Asians. "Honorary whites" include light-skinned Latinos, Japanese Americans, Korean Americans, Chinese Americans, Asian Indians, Middle Eastern Americans, and most multiracial people. The "collective black" category includes African Americans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotians, dark-skinned Latinos, West Indian and African immigrants, and Native Americans living on reservations (Bonilla-Silva 2002, 2004; Lee and Bean 2007). Lee and Bean (2007) argue that although a new color line may be emerging, it includes the old one at its core. White and black people continue to be perceived (and treated) as sharply separated. In addition, black people are further separated from other racial/ethnic groups.

Our exploration of the color line in Brazil in this chapter shows that Brazilians think about and experience race in a different way compared to

Americans. Color lines exist in Brazil. But Brazil does not have the binary of black and white that has been so prominent in American race relations. Rather, Brazil has many color lines—a gradation from light to dark with many colors in between. Furthermore, instead of thinking about races, Brazilians seem to be more focused on color as a way to understand variation among humans. For example, Brazilians regularly place children in the same family into different color categories. In contrast, in the United States, children are assigned a race/ethnicity by virtue of not only their appearance/color but by their ancestry—who their parents are.

Stuart Hall (1997) argues that this kind of variation in our understanding of race is evidence of the way in which race is a floating signifier. The term *floating signifier* comes from the study of languages. A signifier is a word that has neither a concrete referent nor an agreed-on meaning. For example, *apple* is a word that has a concrete referent. The word *one* has an agreed-on meaning. But the word *love* has neither a concrete referent nor an agreed-on meaning. Race/ethnicity, as we learned in Chapter 2, does not have a concrete referent; it cannot be linked to any objectively measurable biological fact. Race/ethnicity also does not have any agreed-on meaning; this we have observed throughout this book as we looked at the many ways in which race/ethnicity is understood and experienced. The idea of race/ethnicity is in “the endless process of being constantly re-signified, made to mean something different in different cultures, in different historical formations, at different moments of time” (Hall 1997, 8).

The concept of race/ethnicity, however, has meaning. It signifies something that moves far beyond some benign categorization by factors such as colors. For bigoted people, for example, black signifies a whole stream of negative attributes. For people who identify as black, it may signify a long history of pride, degradation, anger, and camaraderie.

Looking Beyond the United States

The relationship of black and white people in the United States has served as the paradigmatic case for the sociological understanding of race/ethnicity for more than a century. Theories derived from the US case are often then applied to explain and understand race/ethnicity in other parts of the world. This practice is not always useful because although race/ethnicity is part of most, if not all, existing societies, the ideas and practices regarding race/ethnicity and the social context in which they exist are not uniform (Telles 2004). Race/ethnicity is a social construct and it is constructed in different ways depending on

when and where it appears. History, politics, class structure, culture, and ideology all play a role in shaping race/ethnicity and racism, and all of these factors vary from one place and time to the next (Weiner 2008).

Edward Telles's (2004) work shows us that although race/ethnicity is an important organizing principle in both Brazil and the United States, it varies significantly in these two places. For example, many sociologists argue that in the United States, racial/ethnic residential segregation continues today despite civil rights reforms and is a major basis for contemporary black disadvantage. American sociologists hypothesize that segregation is the linchpin of racial/ethnic injustice in the United States. They argue that (1) physical and social distance between black and white people in the United States plays a major role in the creation of high levels of racial/ethnic inequality and (2) if segregation were eliminated, discrimination and inequality would subside. This hypothesis has been supported by evidence in the United States, but it may not be true for Brazil. Most of the research in Brazil shows that residential segregation exists but it is primarily segregation by social class. At the same time, despite residential integration by race/ethnicity in Brazil, prejudice and discrimination by race/ethnicity persist (Telles 2004).

Our review of Brazil, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic also shows us that in all of these places as well as in the United States, color lines are important. What the colors are and where the lines are drawn, however, are quite different in the four nations. The American model of racism is significant and essential to our understanding of race and racism globally. The American model, however, cannot speak for all societies.

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

Miscegenation (*mestiçagem* or *miscegenação*); whitening; *gracias al sacar*; white racial frame; social exclusion; racial schema; *indio*; *taíno*; Dominicanization; *mulatto*; *mestizo*; Law of Social Quotas; affirmative action; racial project; color line; floating signifier

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Critics of affirmative action argue that in Brazil these kinds of programs exacerbate the tension among population groups by making everyone identify as a member of some racial group "in a country

where race and racism do not exist." What do you think of this argument?

2. Explain to a few of your friends what the quota laws look like in Brazil. Then ask them what their opinion is of the law. What do you think the chances are of passing a law regarding affirmative action in your country like that in Brazil?
3. Freyre has been called both a racist (for denying racial inequality) and an antiracist (for challenging the racist ideology that "mixed-race" people were inferior) for his work. Which label do you think is more accurate?
4. In your own words, how does Brazil's conceptualization of race differ from that in your own country? What do you believe are the color lines in your country? How are they the same or similar to those in Brazil?
5. How do the four racial schemata from Brazil, the United States, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic compare and contrast?

9



FIGURE 9.0

Symbol carved into rock on St. Kitts by indigenous people who lived there before the Europeans arrived. Their culture and perhaps all of the people themselves are now extinct. (LatitudeStock/Alamy)

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES



When Christopher Columbus “discovered” the Western Hemisphere, there were millions of indigenous people living throughout the hemisphere. One of the islands he sailed past and named was St. Kitts (originally called Saint Christopher), where a group called the Caribs lived. The petroglyph in the photograph is the only remaining evidence of the *Carib* people on the island, because the Europeans killed all of them either purposefully or through the diseases they brought with them, and they subsequently destroyed all of the remnants of the Carib culture. Somehow this small rock carving remained intact and is now standing unprotected for tourists to view. Local tour guides regularly paint in the lines to make the carving more visible, but what the people who made the carving meant by the images or what they thought of the coming of the Europeans will never be known.

Indigenous people are part of the story in the previous chapters, and their significance has been noted. In this chapter, we take time to look more closely at where indigenous peoples fit into our conceptualization of race/ethnicity and the practice and structures of racism. This chapter begins by describing indigenous peoples as a global population. We then explore problems faced by indigenous people in Australia and Canada, such as lack of access to jobs, education, and healthcare, but especially the problem caused by government officials who have sought and in some places continue to seek to remove children from their indigenous families. The chapter then discusses Vietnam, where the government argues that policies that help indigenous populations maintain their culture while providing

access to economic and political power through quotas in government representation are part of their socialist worldview. We also consider the relatively recent introduction of *Doi Moi* in Vietnam and its effect on indigenous policy. China, which has an unusual view of indigeneity, is then examined. The two major problems currently faced by indigenous populations, genocide and environmental racism, are then reviewed. The last section of this chapter discusses the political activism of indigenous peoples who have tied together their own situation with other critical problems such as environmental destruction and the question of sustainability.

WHO ARE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES?

There are approximately 370 million *indigenous peoples* living in 90 countries throughout all regions of the world. They constitute 5 percent of the world's population, but they make up 15 percent of the world's disadvantaged (United Nations 2014a). Indigenous peoples have been given several labels, including First Nations in Canada, Native Americans or Indians in the United States, and Aboriginals in Australia. In other places, they have been given names or have named themselves according to their specific community identity, such as Ainu or Utari in Japan and Amazigh (Berber) in Morocco.

A commonly cited definition of indigenous peoples comes from José Martínez Cobo's study of indigenous populations for the United Nations in the 1970s and 1980s, and this plays a pivotal role not only in our understanding of indigenous peoples but in the development of the indigenous peoples' movement (Martínez Cobo 2009). Box 9.1 shows a timeline of indigenous activism, noting the role of Martínez Cobo. Martínez Cobo asserted that indigenous peoples are those whose ancestors had lived in areas of earth before the age of colonialism. Today, indigenous peoples continue to be distinct and separate from other dominant sectors of the societies in which they live. As a nondominant population, they must fight to preserve, develop, and transmit their ethnic identities and cultural patterns—for example, their ways of dressing, communicating, cultivating the land, thinking, and acting. Although indigenous peoples vary greatly from one region to another, they share a strong connection with their ancestral territories and the

BOX 9.1

Timeline for Indigenous Rights (United Nations Children's Fund 2013)

1923 Chief Deskaheh of the Cayuga Nation of North America approached the League of Nations in one of the first attempts by an indigenous leader to engage the international community. He was not allowed to speak.

1925 Maori religious leader W. T. Ratana traveled to London to protest the breakdown of the Treaty of Waitangi, which had given Maori ownership of their lands. Ratana was denied access to both the King of England and the League of Nations.

1957 First international legal agreement on the obligations of governments to Indigenous Peoples Convention Concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semitribal Populations in Independent Countries (ILO Convention 107).

1970–1980 Groundbreaking study of United Nations Special Rapporteur José Martínez Cobo provides crucial information on the state of the world's indigenous peoples.

1982 The Working Group on Indigenous Populations is formed, initiating the development of United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP).

1993 Declared by the United Nations as the "International Year of the World's Indigenous People." Indigenous peoples demand the formation of a United Nations permanent forum to address indigenous peoples' concerns.

1994 United Nations launches the First International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995–2004).

2002 The inaugural session of United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII): for the first time indigenous peoples, as indigenous nominated or government-nominated experts, speak for themselves as full-fledged members of a United Nations body.

2005–2015 Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples begins (2005–2015).

2007 UNDRIP is adopted by the United Nations General Assembly showing that the international community has committed itself to the protection of Indigenous peoples' rights as individuals and as a group.

Source: United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). 2013. Know your rights: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples for indigenous adolescents. New York: UNICEF.

struggle over what might be done with the natural environment and who should decide is closely linked to the preservation of themselves and their community (United Nations 2009).

Many indigenous populations from many countries have faced racism and discrimination. Since the time of their colonization, conquest, or occupation, indigenous populations have met these challenges with both cooperation and resistance, but their numbers have declined as settler populations historically grew in numbers and dominance and governments increasingly refused to recognize the sovereignty of indigenous populations. In addition, escalating conflict and competition over resources continues to fuel racism and the oppression of indigenous populations today (United Nations 2009).

The current situation has reached a critical level for many indigenous populations in the world who face systemic discrimination and exclusion from political and economic power, education, healthcare, and jobs. In addition, many indigenous peoples are exploited when their culture is misrepresented or sold without their inclusion or consent. Indigenous languages are also at risk. Linguistic scholars estimate that up to 90 percent of the languages currently spoken will be facing extinction by the end of the century. And, perhaps most critically, their lands and the animals, plants, and minerals found there are under relentless attack by population growth of the dominant racial/ethnic groups and by outside business interests who seek to extract the resources and alter the land for farming, mining, lumbering, and fossil fuels (United Nations 2009).

Indigenous Peoples of Australia

The indigenous peoples of Australia, who are sometimes called *Aboriginals*, present a well-documented example of the tragic history and difficult current situation for indigenous populations. The British began to send settlers to Australia in the late 1700s. Many of the colonists were British prisoners who were exiled to Australia to serve their sentence or were offered land and freedom in exchange for moving to Australia. Before the settlers arrived, several hundred different indigenous groups lived in Australia with diverse languages, cultures, and territories. At least 700 different languages were spoken and it is estimated that 750,000 people, whose ancestors had been there as many as 50,000 years, lived in Australia pre-European contact (Mooney 2013).

European diseases, land-grabbing, and violence against the indigenous populations decimated the population. In the 1960s, however,

immense and prolonged activism won citizenship, financial assistance, equal pay, and the right to their land and preservation of their cultural heritage for indigenous peoples. In 1965, the Freedom Riders, led by Charlie Perkins, Australia's first indigenous university graduate, traveled through several towns protesting Aboriginal exclusion from clubs, hospital wards, swimming pools, cafes, and movie theaters. The students uncovered violent racism, exposed huge welfare disparity, and confronted strong, often violent, opposition in many of the towns (Campion 2011).

Today, problems remain for indigenous peoples in Australia. Life expectancy at birth is 67 years for indigenous males and 73 years for indigenous females, whereas it is 79 for males and 83 for females in the nonindigenous population. Infant mortality among indigenous peoples is twice that of the rest of the population of Australia and poor access to public utilities and overcrowded houses remain significant problems, particularly in remote communities (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2011).

Stolen Generation

One of the most egregious problems faced by indigenous peoples in Australia was the kidnapping of thousands of mixed-race children from their families by welfare officials who placed the children in institutions to work as cheap or slave labor. The policy began in the late nineteenth century, but it escalated and became law in the 1930s and remained legal until the 1970s. Initially, only children over the age of 14 were taken, but in 1915, the law was changed to allow removing any age child from an Aboriginal family (Commonwealth of Australia 1997). Exact numbers are unknown, but scholars estimate that as many as 50,000 Aboriginal children were taken from their families (Pilger 2015).

In 1996, the Australian government collected the stories of people who had been kidnapped as children. One woman described her experience of being taken and placed at Sister Kate's Orphanage in Perth which was opened to receive 'lighter skinned' children in 1935 (Commonwealth of Australia 1997 [confidential evidence 821, Western Australia], 6):

I was at the post office with my Mum and Auntie [and cousin]. They put us in the police Ute [utility vehicle] and said they were taking us to Broome. They put the mums in there as well.

But when we'd gone [about ten miles] they stopped, and threw the mothers out of the car. We jumped on our mothers' backs, crying, trying not to be left behind. But the policemen pulled us off and threw us back in the car. They pushed the mothers away and drove off, while our mothers were chasing the car, running and crying after us. We were screaming in the back of that car. When we got to Broome they put me and my cousin in the Broome lock-up. We were only ten years old. We were in the lock-up for two days waiting for the boat to Perth.

Another woman explained how some children were taken to be placed in white homes quoted in Commonwealth of Australia 1997 [confidential evidence 613, New South Wales], 6):

I remember another friend of mine in St Ives. She wanted to adopt a little Aboriginal baby. And she was telling me when she got this little one that she went out to the mission and said she wanted a little baby boy. The mission manager said, 'Mrs J has a couple of boys [already], we'll take her third one.' So they adopted that child. If Mrs J would have objected, she said the welfare officer says, 'Well, if you don't give us that child, we'll take the other two.'

Some of the children were kidnapped to work as servants "... the greatest advantage of young Aboriginal servants was that they came cheap and were never paid beyond the provision of variable quantities of food and clothing. As a result any European on or near the frontier, quite regardless of their own circumstances, could acquire and maintain a personal servant" (Reynolds 1990, 169). Figure 9.1 shows a newspaper advertisement with Aboriginal children for which the government was seeking placement.

Government policy, however, was not only designed to find child workers, it was also aimed at destroying the culture of the indigenous people by consciously desocializing the children as Aboriginals and re-educating them as whites. In 1935, A. O. Neville spoke at the first national governmental conference on Aboriginal people and asked: "Are we going to have a population of one million blacks in the Commonwealth or are we going to merge them into our white community and eventually forget that there were any Aborigines in Australia?" In response to his question, "The Destiny of the Race" resolution was passed



FIGURE 9.1

Australian news article in 1930s in which the government is advertising indigenous children available for adoption. The note responding to the appeal reads: "I like the little girl in the centre of the group, but if taken by someone else, any of the others will do as long as they are strong." (© Corbis)

unanimously. The resolution called for the total absorption into the white community of all non-full-blooded Aboriginal people. Taking part-Aboriginal children from their mothers and families by force was part of this ambition. The idea was that if mixed children were separated from non-mixed Aboriginals and not allowed to have children or at least not to have children with Aboriginals, eventually the population would become "whitened," much like the situation we reviewed in Chapter 8 on Brazil.

Over the years, various regulations were invoked to make this possible (Knightly 2001). Indigenous girls, in particular, were targeted

for removal and sent to work as domestics to satisfy the demand for cheap servants. In addition, officials thought that the long hours and exhausting work would prevent them from bearing children. 81% of the children taken were girls. If they did become pregnant, their babies were taken away to be raised in white families (Commonwealth of Australia 1997).

In 2008, the Australian government officially apologized to the Aboriginal people. Box 9.2 contains the text of the apology given by the Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd. May 26 is National Sorry Day in Australia to remember and commemorate the mistreatment of the continent's indigenous population. The national government has ruled out any reparations for those who were forcibly removed or for their families. The

BOX 9.2

Apology to the Australian Aboriginal People

I move:

That today we honour the Indigenous peoples of this land, the oldest continuing cultures in human history.

We reflect on their past mistreatment.

We reflect in particular on the mistreatment of those who were Stolen Generations—this blemished chapter in our nation's history.

The time has now come for the nation to turn a new page in Australia's history by righting the wrongs of the past and so moving forward with confidence to the future.

We apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians.

We apologise especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country.

For the pain, suffering, and hurt of these Stolen Generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry.

To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry.

state government of Tasmania, however, has established a compensation fund for the stolen generations and has already paid 84 forcibly removed children US\$52,000 and 22 of their descendants US\$4,500 each (McGuirk 2008).

Indigenous Peoples of Canada

In 1455, Pope Nicholas V issued what was called the Doctrine of Discovery, authorizing Christian nations "to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all. . . enemies of Christ," take their land and "reduce their persons to perpetual slavery" (United Nations 2010a, 19). This doctrine became the basis of much of the law regarding relationships between indigenous peoples and the governments that came to

And for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry.

We the Parliament of Australia respectfully request that this apology be received in the spirit in which it is offered as part of the healing of the nation.

For the future we take heart; resolving that this new page in the history of our great continent can now be written.

We today take this first step by acknowledging the past and laying claim to a future that embraces all Australians.

A future where this Parliament resolves that the injustices of the past must never, never happen again.

A future where we harness the determination of all Australians, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to close the gap that lies between us in life expectancy, educational achievement, and economic opportunity.

A future where we embrace the possibility of new solutions to enduring problems where old approaches have failed.

A future based on mutual respect, mutual resolve and mutual responsibility.

A future where all Australians, whatever their origins, are truly equal partners, with equal opportunities and with an equal stake in shaping the next chapter in the history of this great country, Australia.

Read by Kevin Rudd, Prime Minister of Australia, in Parliament, February 13, 2015.

dominate them. For example, in the United States, Justice John Marshall used the doctrine in 1823 to support the majority opinion of the court, which found that Native Americans had a right to occupy, but could not own, the ancestral homelands where their people had lived, loved, worshipped, married, mourned and died for millennia (NoiseCat 2015). The doctrine continues to be used to deny rights to indigenous people all over the world (United Nations 2010a).

Canada is a settler nation, which means that it is a nation where Europeans came and claimed the land and resources that had originally belonged to the indigenous population, which are now called First Nations. Canada is also another nation where indigenous peoples still face discrimination and inequality and, like Australia, one of the worst examples of this is the removal of First Nations children from their homes. In Canada the removal of children has been and continues to be accompanied by a construction of First Nations women as "bad mothers." Today, about 5 percent of Canadian children are First Nations but 38 percent of children who have been placed in out-of-home care are First Nations (Pon et al. 2009, 392).

Indigenous Peoples of Vietnam

Vietnam presents another example in which indigenous peoples have struggled to preserve their communities and their cultures. In the case of Vietnam, they have succeeded in getting the government to develop policies to address issues although problems remain. Vietnam was a subject of colonial and neocolonial rule by European nations and then the American government well into the twentieth century. Since the end of the Vietnamese American War in 1975, the Vietnamese have sought to assert their independence and build a new nation. As part of that nation building, they have actively addressed the legacy of racial/ethnic inequality by creating policies and laws that protect and celebrate the multiethnicity of their populations.

Vietnam has accomplished this within a socialist framework (Duc 2006; Baulch et al. 2007). Recently, however, Vietnam has entered a period of *Doi Moi*, a moving away from some of the original ideas and practices of socialism. These changes are shaping the fate of multiethnic policies and the experience of indigenous peoples of Vietnam.

Vietnam is an ethnically diverse society with a large number of indigenous groups and a history of problems regarding racial/ethnic inequality, injustice, and discrimination (Baulch et al. 2007). According to the Vietnam Living Standards Survey and the 1999 census, the

majority populations (Kinh and Hoa households) have substantially higher living standards than minority groups. Minority groups in Vietnam are composed of 52 other racial/ethnic groups, which include Chinese and Hmong immigrants and many different groups of indigenous peoples. These minorities constitute the poorest, least educated sections of Vietnamese society (United Nations Development Programme Viet Nam, 2013).

Not all the minority groups are doing poorly, however. Evidence shows that there are differences among the various minority groups. Some groups are doing well or at least better, but indigenous peoples in the Central Highlands are being left farthest behind (Baulch, et al., 2006).

Evidence of efforts to encourage multiculturalism in Vietnam can be found in a number of government programs and laws (Palmieri 2010). You should recall from Chapter 6 that multiculturalism is the policy of supporting minority racial/ethnic people by promoting programs that improve their access to jobs, education, and healthcare, for example. At the same time, multiculturalist policies seek to protect the ability of minorities to practice and preserve their cultures. Although there are problems associated with a multicultural approach, some multicultural policies have succeeded in addressing inequities. Multicultural policies have been implemented by Vietnam in their attempt to create a more representative government. The National Assembly is the legislative body of Vietnam and consists of 500 deputies each elected for five-year terms. The Assembly leaders strive to achieve representativeness with regard to minority groups so that everyone can be heard and real issues may be addressed. Currently, of the 54 racial/ethnic groups, 33 are represented in the legislature. Assembly leaders have also formed a Council on Ethnic Minorities as a main channel for minority groups to not only gain awareness but to also direct issues to the Assembly (Palmieri 2010).

In addition, a wide range of government interventions designed to help indigenous communities have been implemented since 1993. For example, the cost of transporting essential goods to more remote areas (which is where most indigenous people live) is subsidized. Subsidies are also given for salt, reforestation funds, the provision of potable water and livestock, road maintenance, and gifts of radios to remote households in order to connect villages to the national grid (Baulch et al., 2006).

Poverty, however, remains one of the most serious problems faced by indigenous minorities and Vietnam has responded with programs to

"help the mountains to catch up to the plains" (Duc 2006). One specific legislative program, Resolution 30A, was rolled out in 2008. This is a support program to facilitate rapid and sustainable poverty reduction for sixty-one of the poorest districts, which has resulted in important improvements. Despite progress, much work remains. For example, the poverty rates of racial/ethnic minorities fell from 86 percent in 1998 to 52 percent in 2010. But the national poverty average went from 58 percent to 16 percent in that same period. Another issue that has become increasingly challenging is the ability of indigenous peoples to retain their culture as the pressures of globalization grow.

The principle of multiculturalism is especially important in Vietnam because many Vietnamese people believe that the preservation and development of cultural diversity is essential to the preservation of the human cultural ecology and the diversity of human spiritual life. They also believe, however, that a commitment to human diversity should not be a justification for isolation and discrimination. Rather, they maintain that we should respect each other's values and differences and that these differences should be celebrated rather than suppressed and altered (Duc 2006). The Communist Party of Vietnam argues that these kinds of values that seek to preserve indigenous cultures at the same time they promote equality and improving standards of living are part of the core values of Communist ideology. Box 9.3 lists the values the Vietnamese Communist Party has identified as central to their work. Recently, however, communist ideology and policies are being challenged by a new set of ideas and practices called *Doi Moi*.

Doi Moi

Since 1954 in North Vietnam and 1975 in South Vietnam, the central planning systems of the country have run agriculture through cooperatives, whereas state-owned enterprises dominated the industrial sector (Fahey 1997; Migheli 2011). In the 1980s, officials acknowledged that these practices, especially in agriculture, were not working as effectively as they had hoped because the main crop and the mainstay of the Vietnamese diet, rice, was not being produced sufficiently to feed the people. The collectivization of farms was halted and a new set of reforms called *Doi Moi* began to be put into place. *Doi Moi* refers to the creation of a socialist-oriented market economy in which control by the Communist Party is loosened and economic and social practices allowing for more individual rights and more individual entrepreneurship are implemented. These economic reforms have been successful in

BOX 9.3

Values Embedded in the Nation Building of Vietnam by the Vietnamese Communist Party*

Patriotism

Self-reliance

Solidarity

Community awareness linking individuals, families, villages, and fatherland

Humanism

Tolerance

Respect for emotion

Morality

Diligence

Creativeness in working

Tender behavior

A simple living style

**Party asserts that these values are quintessence to Vietnamese racial/ethnic minorities.*

Source: Duc, Pham Duy. 2006. "Cultural diversity under Conditions of Globalization."

Nature, Society, and Thought 19 (1): 103.

addressing poverty. But what effect will *Doi Moi* have on the ability of the Vietnamese government to move forward with their commitment to multiculturalism and the empowerment of indigenous peoples who have been, and in many ways continue to be, marginalized?

There is much debate over the answer to this question. Some scholars argue that "a market-oriented development strategy with its emphasis on a fast growing gross domestic product, or GDP, growth with exports and industrialization may end up leaving many people behind—among them, the most vulnerable ethnic and social groups" (Long 1998, 146). Baulch and colleagues (2007), for example, note that current Vietnamese laws frequently do not recognize traditional land

and forest use rights and in-migration to the New Economic Zones in the Central Highlands has contributed to tensions between settlers and the indigenous racial/ethnic minorities.

CHINA: A NATION WITH NO OFFICIALLY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

China is the most populous nation in the world, with about 1.357 billion people living within its borders. That means that everything China does is especially salient for not only the Chinese but the rest of the world. The position of the Chinese government on indigenous peoples presents a controversial problem for people who are concerned about the condition of life for indigenous peoples and the role they play in global politics.

The Chinese government recognizes 55 racial/ethnic minorities within its borders, with a total population of 113,792,211 people. In addition, more than 700,000 people are members of racial/ethnic minorities, most of whom live in southwest China in Guizhou, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Tibet, which are not officially recognized by the government. The officially recognized racial/ethnic minority groups have rights protected by the Chinese Constitution, including the establishment of ethnic autonomous regions, their own local administrative governance bodies, and the right to practice their own language and culture. "Ethnic autonomous regions" constitute about 60 percent of China's land area. Not all of these groups would be considered indigenous according to the common understanding of the term because some groups are relatively recent immigrants. However, prior to the migration into their lands by the Han majority of China, many of these groups have lived for centuries (Michaud 2009).

The Chinese government, however, does not recognize the term *indigenous peoples* in China. In addition, representatives of China's racial/ethnic minorities have not readily identified themselves as indigenous peoples and have rarely participated in international meetings related to indigenous peoples' issues. It has therefore not been clearly established which of China's racial/ethnic minority groups are to be considered indigenous peoples (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs 2015). On the one hand, this position does not seem valid because many groups were present in communities, especially in southwest China, tens of thousands of years before the Han took over their

land and claimed it as part of China. On the other hand, China is more than 2,000 years old, and the move of the Han into the territories where indigenous people lived took place at least 1,000 years ago. Although defining communities as indigenous is appropriate to describing relatively recent relationships such as those between Australian settlers and Aboriginal people since the eighteenth century, it may not be appropriate for describing the relationship between the majority and minority populations of China.

GENOCIDE

In previous chapters, we have examined the genocide of racial/ethnic groups, for example in mid-twentieth century Europe under the Nazis and more recently in Rwanda. Genocide refers to the purposeful destruction of whole racial/ethnic groups. Although genocides had been perpetrated against people many times in history, it was a “crime without a name” until the middle of the twentieth century, when the term *genocide* was coined by Raphael Lemkin, a jurist and refugee of the Nazi Holocaust (Jones 2009). The word means the killing (*cide*) of a people/race/tribe (*geno*) (Goldsmith 2010). In the current United Nations (1948) Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such:

- Killing members of the group
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group

The 146 nations who have signed this convention have agreed that genocide is a criminal act and have promised to prevent genocide and punish those who commit genocide. The Convention was introduced in 1948, and by 1951 twenty nations had signed it, making it an international law. Since then, 126 other nations have agreed to the Convention, but there are still a number of nations, mostly in Africa, that have not signed or acceded to it. The law, however, could not be enforced until 1990 because members of the Security Council had not yet signed it. China (1983) and the United States (1988) were the last members of

the Security Council to ratify it. Making the convention an international law is important because it means that nations can be held accountable for their actions and public officials and rulers as well as private individuals can be charged and tried for genocide in an international court (United Nations 1948).

At least two problems with the convention, however, have been identified (Bartrop 2015). First, intent is sometimes difficult to show or prove, even though the outcome of activities result in the same level of destruction. The distinction between whether those being accused of genocide had intended to “just” kill many individuals or if their intention was to destroy an entire people is a difficult one to make. Furthermore, finding evidence—a paper trail of the conscious intent of genocide—may be impossible. The Convention was developed in the aftermath of World War II, when the Nazis openly proclaimed their intention to destroy an entire people. But the intentions of those responsible for subsequent genocides have been less clear. These problems are not just theoretical ones but have created significant barriers to implementing and enforcing the law. In Darfur, for example, an abundance of evidence exists showing systematic torture, rape, murder, as well as destruction of housing, water sources, and sources of livelihood of Fur, Zaghawa, Massalit, Jebel, and Aranga people by the Sudanese government. Almost a half a million people have been killed and two and half million displaced. The actions, however, were not identified legally as genocide for seven years because there are no known government documents explaining that the actions were intentionally committed to destroy specific groups. In 2010, President Omar al-Bashir was finally charged with genocide, but the fighting continues today and al-Bashir has not been brought to trial (Goldsmith 2010; Copnall 2013).

A second problem with the definition of genocide in the United Nations documents is in the phrase “in whole” or “in part.” How many individuals constitute “in part” is not spelled out (Goldsmith 2010). For centuries, indigenous peoples all over the world have been the targets of genocide. Our discussion of Aboriginal people in this chapter provides one example, but there are many more. For example (Bartrop 2015, 14):

The genocide of indigenous peoples throughout the Americas represents one of the greatest and most extensive human catastrophes in history. The pace and magnitude of the destruction varied from region to region over the years, but it can be safely concluded that in the two and a half centuries following

Christopher Columbus's "discovery" of the Americas in 1492, probably 95 per cent of the pre-Columbian population was wiped out—by disease as well as by deliberate policy on the part of the Spanish, the French, the English, and, ultimately, by the American-born heirs of those colonising nations."

The first genocide of the twentieth century took place in South West Africa (now Namibia), when thousands of the indigenous Herero were systematically killed by Germans. Up to 80 percent of the total population was wiped out. Herero of both sexes and all ages were forced into the Omaheke Desert, and tens of thousands died there. German General Lothar von Trotha ordered that all waterholes be located and poisoned in advance of the arrival of those Herero who might have survived the desert (Bartrop 2015; Bridgman 1981; Dreschler 1980; Sarkin-Hughes 2010).

More recently in the 1980s, Maya people were targeted for genocide by the Guatemalan government during General Efraín Ríos Montt's presidency, who through a "scorched earth policy" murdered tens of thousands of Maya, demolished buildings, destroyed crops, slaughtered livestock, fouled water supplies, and violated sacred places and cultural symbols (Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification 1999). In 2013, Montt was found guilty of genocide but the his conviction was overruled two weeks later when Guatemala's highest court threw out the verdicts and ordered a retrial, arguing that the accused had been left without a lawyer at key stages of the trial (British Broadcasting Corporation 2015b).

ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM

Environmental Racism and Resistance in Nigeria

Ogoniland is an oil-rich region in southern Nigeria located in an area that has one of greatest levels of biodiversity in the world. It is also the home of the Ogoni people, an indigenous group who have lived there for more than 2,000 years. In the 1950s, Shell Oil moved in to extract the oil and make billions of dollars in profit. The people in the area received none of the economic benefits from removal of the oil from the land on which they lived. Instead, their environment, which had sustained traditional livelihoods mainly in agriculture and fishing for centuries, was devastated. Spillages of oil were common, groundwater was polluted, and fishing areas and farmlands were contaminated (Henshaw 2015).

In the 1990s, the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), led by Ken Saro-Wiwa, called for a share in the proceeds of the oil wealth, environmental cleanup, and some political autonomy for the Ogoni that would allow them to direct their own affairs. In response, the government launched a program of brutal repression against the Ogoni people. Everyone suspected of being a member of MOSOP was arrested and detained. Many people were never seen again. Women were raped, properties looted, and whole communities were torched. Saro-Wiwa and several other Ogoni leaders were arrested and hanged by the Nigerian government. Nevertheless, the people persisted and eventually were able to stop Shell Oil from continuing its work. The environmental devastation, however, remains. In 2011, the United Nations reviewed the destruction left behind by Shell's oil industry. The report found that if an environmental restoration of Ogoniland were implemented it would be the world's most wide-ranging and long term oil clean-up exercise ever undertaken. Since 2011, the Nigerian government and Shell Oil have debated who should be responsible for the cleanup and how it should proceed (Nuttall and Marks 2011).

Defining Environmental Racism

Environmental racism refers to "any policy, practice, or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended) individuals, groups, or communities because of their race or color. Environmental racism in public policies and industry practices results in benefits being provided to whites and costs being shifted to people of color. Environmental racism is reinforced by government, legal, economic, political and military institutions" (Bullard 2003, 32). This definition was designed to describe environmental racism in the United States. In Nigeria, the disadvantages are suffered by indigenous peoples who are part of racial/ethnic communities that are not disadvantaged because of color but perceived to be populations that are less worthy than are those who are in power. The benefits of environmental racism go not only to white people but to people who are in the dominant racial/ethnic populations in Nigeria. Furthermore, most of the benefits go to people who are not only white but who are from the global North. Consumer who use cheap oil without paying the environmental and social costs of the extraction of the resource benefit from the environmental racism in Nigeria oil fields. Most significantly corporations

and their shareholders who are primarily from the global North benefit from oil that is sold without proper care for the Ogoni people and their land and water. No country consuming Shell's oil has called for sanctions on the oil companies in Nigeria (Douglas et al. 2005).

INDIGENOUS GLOBAL ACTIVISM

On January 1, 1994, a rebellion erupted in Mexico in the rural southern state of Chiapas. The rebel Zapatista National Liberation Army forces captured four towns and demanded political and social reforms aimed at improving the lives of the people of Chiapas, most of whom are indigenous peoples. These reforms included reversal of systematic human rights abuses (theft of communal lands, assaults, injuries, arbitrary arrest, threats, torture, and murder by government officials and wealthy landowners and cattlemen), cessation of extreme material deprivation (the majority living on less than US\$2 a day, nearly half without running water); reversal of North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, ratification; and pending revisions to communal land laws (both of which facilitate the sale of communal lands to wealthy landowners) (Collins 2010). The Zapatistas seized and destroyed land records, and released 230 prisoners, many of them indigenous peasants who had been jailed over land disputes. They announced (Russell 1995, 38):

For many years, dictators have engaged in an undeclared genocidal war against our people. For this reason, we ask for your participation and support in our struggle for jobs, land, housing, food, health, education, independence, liberty, democracy, and justice, and peace. We will not stop fighting until these basic demands are met and a free and democratic government rules in Mexico.

The Zapatistas were outgunned by 14,000 Mexican troops, a cease-fire was called, and the Zapatistas and government officials attempted to negotiate a settlement but were unsuccessful. A stalemate remains (Collins 2010). The Zapatistas, however, have continued to educate and build a social movement and a community centered around the indigenous peoples of Chiapas, offering schools, clinics, transportation, and a university: the Indigenous Center for Comprehensive Training (Rodgers 2015).



FIGURE 9.2

Many coalitions of Environmental and Social Justice organizations are seeking a global green New Deal. Their goal of sustainability can only be achieved by addressing racial/ethnic injustice around the world. (Courtesy of *The Global Climate Convergence*)

SUSTAINABILITY

The word *sustainability* means the capacity to endure. The concept more specifically today refers to the ability of the planet to survive. Scholars and activists who are concerned with the future of the planet note that global climate change, wars that potentially can escalate to nuclear annihilation, destruction of potable water, and massive extinction of species have pushed the question of sustainability to a crisis stage. Figure 9.2 shows a group of indigenous activists calling attention to the links between the survival of the planet and their own survival.

The concept of sustainability began to be a focus of the United Nations in the 1980s. In 1987, the organization issued *1987 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future*. In that report, the Brundtland Commission defined sustainability in reference to development: “sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the well-being of future generations.”

Debate around what we mean exactly by sustainability, however, has continued. The Union of Conservation Scientists (IUCN), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) bring in the issue of not just maintaining stasis but improving the quality of human life: “sustainability is improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of the Earth’s supporting ecosystems” (United Nations 1987). In 2000, the Earth Charter also broadened the definition of sustainability by specifying some of particular factors that we need to consider to achieve that goal by adding that sustainability must be: “founded on respect for nature, universal human rights, economic justice, and a culture of peace” (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] n.d.). Paul Hawken, a leader in the sustainability movement, introduced into his definition the question of humans’ relationship to other life on the planet by noting the tension between the

dominant species on earth and the rest of life on earth: “Sustainability is about stabilizing the currently disruptive relationship between earth’s two most complex systems—human culture and the living world” (Hawken 2008, 172). These struggles to define sustainability have also included attempts to determine what exactly comprises sustainability and what the tensions among the various factors are. Currently three pillars have been proposed: environment, economics, and equity.

The traditional lands of indigenous peoples represent the greatest sanctuaries remaining of life on earth. Business interests are commercializing and seeking to “develop” these areas at the same time they are purposefully pushing indigenous peoples away from those lands and their resources. In turn, indigenous peoples are defending themselves and their land from corporate encroachments. Today, nearly 5,000 indigenous communities are seeking to protect their homelands. These lands make up 20 percent of the earth’s landmass, and in many cases they include the least corrupted forests, mountains, and prairies (Hawken 2008). Resistance by indigenous peoples is both a resistance to their genocide as well as a challenge to the drive toward unsustainability and the end of the capacity of life to endure on the planet. Racial/ethnic justice is fundamental to sustainability.

CONCEPTS AND TERMS

Stolen generation; Aboriginal people; indigenous; *Doi Moi*; sustainability; genocide; Zapatistas; settler nation

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. The policy of the Australian government in regard to the kidnapping of children in the twentieth century has been called a form of genocide by some. Do you think this is an accurate depiction of the policy? If so, what should be done about it? Are reparations a useful remedy?
2. The murder of thousands of Maya people by the Guatemalan people has been tied to US policy in Central America during the 1980s. Look on the Internet for information on the debate. What was the political relationship between the United States and Guatemala during the 1980s? What role did the United States government play in the genocide?
3. Look at the last sentence of this chapter. Do you think this assertion is true? Why or why not? Can racism be solved without considering the environmental, economic, and social aspects of sustainability? Can sustainability be achieved without addressing the problems of racism?

GLOSSARY

1885 Treaty of Berlin: Gathering in which European nations came together to decide which of them should control the various regions on the African continent.

Aboriginals: Indigenous people of Australia.

Affirmative action: A form of justice that seeks to establish equality by using compensatory benefits to rectify past discrimination.

African diaspora: Refers to people who now live all over the world but whose ancestors came from Africa.

Afrikaners: A Southern African ethnic group descended from predominantly Dutch settlers first arriving in South Africa in the seventeenth century. They dominated South Africa's agriculture and politics prior to 1994.

Ainu (Utari): An indigenous group of Japanese, located mainly in northern Japan.

ANC: African National Congress.

Anti-Semitism: Prejudice against, hatred of, or discrimination against Jews as an ethnic, religious, or racial group.

Apartheid: A highly structured system of racial dominance developed by the South African government in the last half of the twentieth century. This system legally segregated people by race in every aspect of human life.

Aryan: A term used to refer to a racial category based on the idea that blonde northern Europeans are innately superior to all other racial/ethnic groups.

Assimilationist theory: Assumes that when people from different groups come into contact with each other, they eventually become similar to one other, and distinct racial and ethnic lines disappear.

BEE: Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 in South Africa.

Biological theory: Focuses on the connection between biology and race/ethnicity. It posits that race/ethnicity is a real biological fact and that humans can be systematically placed into racial/ethnic categories.

Black essentialism: The view that, although some black people live on the African continent and others in the diaspora, they are all one people.

- Burakumin:** A group of Japanese people created by the caste system in ancient Japan who were viewed as lower class and subjected to discrimination.
- Caste:** System of stratification in which groups are categorized by occupation found in several societies but especially central to Indian society where it is now illegal but persists as a form of discrimination.
- Census of castes:** A count instituted by the British in 1865 in India, which asked Indians to periodically identify their caste in censuses..
- Class conflict theory:** The view that social class and the economy are the central factors in shaping systems of racial/ethnic inequality.
- Colonial mentality:** A term often used in the Filipino and Filipino American community that refers to feeling inferior for being Filipino and/or feeling ashamed or embarrassed of the Filipino culture.
- Colonialism:** The establishment of political, economic, and cultural control by one country over another country, usually occupying it with settlers and exploiting it economically.
- Color line:** Originally used as a reference to the racial segregation that existed in the United States after the abolition of slavery.
- Colorism:** The valuation of lighter skin colors within racial/ethnic groups.
- Coloured South Africans:** A racial/ethnic identity embraced by many South Africans who live primarily in the Western Cape..
- Constructive engagement:** US President Ronald Reagan's term for his support of the South African apartheid government.
- Critical race theory:** The view that divisions among race/ethnicities and racial/ethnic injustice are the most salient stratification systems in societies, especially the United States
- Dalits:** People in India who are outside of the caste system and were formerly called untouchables.
- De facto segregation:** Segregation that exists despite laws that prohibit it.
De jure segregation: Legal segregation.
- Debtor nations:** Nations, largely in the South, that are indebted to economic institutions such as the World Bank that are controlled by people and institutions in the North.
- DNA:** The underlying genetic code of the cells of all living things, including humans.
- Doi Moi:** A term used to describe a recent period in Vietnam where the country is moving away from some of the original ideas and practices of socialism.
- Dominicanization:** A term coined by the president of the Dominican Republic in 1937 to describe the efforts to clearly mark the border between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, underscoring the differences between a black Haiti and a white Dominican Republic.

Door of No Return: Sign on doors in slave castles in Ghana, meant to indicate that those who passed through them to be shipped as slaves across the Atlantic would never return to home.

Dred Scott: An African American slave who sued for his freedom after living in Missouri, where slavery was illegal. He was denied his freedom by the US Supreme Court which argued that he was a form of property, not a man.

Elmina Castle and Dungeon: Staging area for the mid-Atlantic slave trade in Ghana, now part of a World Heritage Site.

Ethnonationalism: The idea that nations are defined by a shared heritage, which usually includes a common language, a common faith, and a common racial/ethnic ancestry.

False consciousness: A general view by a group of oppressed people about the way the world works and their place in class society, which does not fit their long-term interests.

Final Solution/Operation Reinhard: The attempt by the Nazis to eliminate the entire Jewish population of Europe.

Floating signifier: A concept that cannot be linked to anything concrete and that has no agreed-on meaning.

Fordism: A stage of capitalist development in the United States from the 1940s to the late 1960s, when the economy was based on mass production balanced with mass consumption aimed at a domestic market.

Foreign debt: Money owed by a nation to an international economic institutions such as the World Bank.

Genocide: The purposeful destruction of entire racial/ethnic groups.

Global apartheid: Referring to the worldwide control of resources, the economies, and people by an white Europeans while barring access to these for the vast majority of the world's population whose ancestors are not from Europe.

Global North and South: Describes nations and regions of the world and their power by their location. The global North, typically at the "top" of the globe (e.g., the United States and Europe), dominates the global South, typically at the "bottom" of the globe (e.g., Africa, Latin America, and India).

Globalization: The integration of the world's economies, political systems, informational networks, and ecology into one system.

Gracias al sacar: A government policy in colonial Latin America that allowed people to purchase certificates of whiteness from the crown.

Great Chain of Being: A system of belief created by slave owners and traders that classified all living creatures into a natural hierarchy, allowing them to justify the slave industry.

Haitian Revolution: The civil war led by enslaved people against Haitian plantation and slave owners.

Hamitic hypothesis: An ideology of racial/ethnic division introduced by missionaries and colonial administrators during the colonization of Rwanda in the late nineteenth century.

Hegemony: The idea that consent can play a central role in the maintenance of racial/ethnic formations.

Hinduism: The third largest religion after Christianity and Islam. Nearly all Hindus live in India.

Holocaust: The imprisonment, forced labor and murder of at least eight million people by the Nazis in early twentieth-century Europe.

Homelands: Areas created by the apartheid government in South Africa that designated specific geographic areas for people in different racial/ethnic categories.

Human genome: A complete set of DNA that contains all of the information needed to build and maintain an individual person.

Human Genome Project: A study conducted by scientists from 1990-2002 that mapped the human genome. It concluded that humans are remarkably similar genetically, sharing 99.9% of their genes.

Human rights: Activities, conditions, and freedoms that all human beings are entitled to, including civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights.

Indigenous: A term used to describe people whose ancestors inhabited areas before colonization.

Indio: Refers to the indigenous population of *Taino*, who once lived on Hispaniola.

Institutionalized racism: The inherent racial/ethnic inequality that is built into social institutions such as the legal system, banks, workplace, neighborhoods, schools, and the government.

Interculturalism: Refers to multicultural communities that interact with each other in a process aimed at recognizing and celebrating differences as well as ironing out disagreements and building bridges of understanding.

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: A convention in 1969 of the United Nations Office of the High Commission on Human Rights, which defined racial discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."

Intersectionality theory: The view that people's social lives and societies are marked by intersecting systems, specifically, race/ethnicity, social class, and gender.

Irregular immigrants: Immigrants who enter a country without permission and without legal documents.

Kristallnacht: The night of November 9, 1938, when the Nazis destroyed synagogues and the shop windows of Jewish-owned stores throughout Germany and Austria.

Law of Return: Defines who is a Jew for purposes of the law and allows every Jew to immigrate to Israel or the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

Law of Social Quotas: A law enacted in Brazil that mandated affirmative action policies.

Maafa: Word coined by scholars to describe the history and continuing effects of atrocities inflicted on African people from the slave trade to imperialism, colonialism, globalization, and neocolonialism.

Market economic theory: The view that, if left to its own devices, the free market will eventually hire the most skilled workers at the lowest wages, regardless of their race/ethnicity.

Marron: From the French word for a domesticated animal run wild. Enslaved Haitians who revolted were known as marrons.

Mestizo: Term that describes a person of mixed European and indigenous race.

Middleman minorities: Tradespersons and small business people who have immigrated into a nation to serve as intermediaries between ruling and subordinate groups.

Migrant remittances: Money that people who immigrate to wealthier countries send home to their families.

Miscegenation: A term used to refer to interracial marriage and interracial sex—and more generally to the process of racial admixture.

Monoethnicity: A term used to describe a country or culture where the majority of members are similar in terms of their racial/ethnic background, culture, and language.

Mulatto: Term that describes a person of mixed European and African race. Considered offensive in the US but not pejorative in many other places.

Multicultural drift: Term used to refer to the increasing involvement of nonwhites in British society, starting in the late 1990s.

Multicultural model: Equal opportunity for all, accompanied by cultural diversity. Unlike pluralism, this model does not assume a dominant culture.

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement.

Nationalists: People who call for setting aside social cleavages within a nation and emphasizing the unifying identity of nation.

Nazi: A political party in Germany active between 1920 and 1945. Led by Adolf Hitler, the Nazis were responsible for the Holocaust.

NCDHR (National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights): Launched in 1998 to bring the situation of Dalits to international attention and to promote policies within those nations where Dalits live, especially in India.

Nelson Mandela: A South African antiapartheid revolutionary, politician, and philanthropist, who served as President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999.

Neocolonialism: A current form of colonialism that exploits and oppresses entire nations through global debt, privatization, and austerity programs.

Neoliberal globalization: An economic model following Fordism in which both production and consumption are broadened to include the entire world.

NEP: New Economic Policy.

New Foreigners: A broad category of racial/ethnic minority in Japan referring to those who immigrated to Japan in recent years.

New Order Rule: Term used to describe the regime of second Indonesian President Suharto.

Nihonjinron: The Japanese word for "Japaneseness," referring especially to literature that focuses on and celebrates ethnic Japanese culture, people, society, history, and national interests.

Nikkeijin: People whose ancestors emigrated from Japan to other nations, especially to Latin America, several decades ago, and who have recently returned to Japan.

Nuremberg Laws: A set of laws enacted in Germany in 1935 that racially defined Jewish people by "blood" and ordered the total separation of Aryans and non-Aryans.

Official development assistance: Money that is sent from wealthier countries to poorer ones with the intention of helping to alleviate poverty and aid in creating projects that improve infrastructure and development.

Okinawans: The largest indigenous group living in Japan, numbering over one million.

Old Foreigners: A broad category of racial/ethnic minority in Japan referring to those whose ancestors immigrated to Japan.

OPT: Occupied Palestinian Territories.

Pass Laws: Enacted in areas of displacement in South Africa during apartheid. Residents were required to carry and produce on demand identity documents, and only South Africans in possession of these

documents were legally allowed to move outside of the confines of their designated neighborhood.

Phenotype: variations in human appearance such as skin, eye, and hair color; hair texture; and nose, mouth, and eye shape.

Pillars of apartheid: A description of the type of apartheid developed in South Africa and now being practiced by Israelis in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

Pluralist theory: The view that resolution between groups based on racial and ethnic conflict occurs only through the implementation of policies that facilitate the end of the competition.

Poona Pact of 1932: An agreement between Mohandas Gandhi and Bhimrao R. Ambedkar that stated that all Hindus had the same institutional rights, including Dalits.

Power and oppression: When one group has historically gained power and control over assets of a society by exploiting the labor and lives of other groups, using those assets to secure its position of power.

Prevention of Atrocities Act: Passed by the Indian government in 1989 to try to bolster the protection of Dalits.

Race relations cycle: A process identified by Robert Park, which includes the following four stages: initial contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation.

Race/ethnicity: Ascribed physical, biological, and/or cultural differences among people that define resources, choices, and opportunities available to them based on those differences.

Race: A social relationship that cannot be linked to any real biological differences among humans.

Racial formations: The sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed, as defined by Omi and Winant.

Racial project: A term developed by Omi and Winant to mean a project that both defines race/ethnicities and relationships among people of different race/ethnicities as well as reorganizes and redistributes resources along racial/ethnic lines.

Racial schema: Racial categories, what they mean, and how they are lived out in any given society.

Racial/ethnic minorities: Groups of people who live in a nation that is dominated by one particular racial/ethnic group and who are discriminated against and barred from resources afforded to the dominant group.

Racism: the practices that promote racist ideas and seek to create and maintain institutions that perpetuate racial inequality.

Remittances: Monies sent home by immigrants.

Repatriated profits: Profits made by multinational corporations when they invest in a developing country

Restorative justice: Focuses on giving victims an active role in addressing crimes, on repairing the harm done, and the possibility of forgiveness.

Retributive justice: Focuses on punishing criminals for their crime.

Roma: A racial/ethnic group who originally came from northern India many centuries ago and now live in Europe. Roma have been excluded and oppressed throughout their history and continue to face discrimination and violence.

Rwandan genocide: Systematic killing of more than 800,000 people by the Rwandan government in 1994.

Scientific social theory: Systematically organized frameworks for understanding that can be tested empirically.

Settler nation: A nation where Europeans came and claimed the land and resources that had originally belonged to the indigenous population.

Sickle cell anemia: A serious and painful disease that can cause organ damage and death, which has traditionally been associated with the African "race."

Social construction: The sociological idea that humans construct our social context by our interactions with one another.

Social exclusion: Refers to the lack of social integration manifested in rules constraining the access of particular groups or persons to resources, or limiting their access to citizenship rights.

Sojourner: A person who moves to another country for a limited amount of time and intends to return home.

Split labor market theory: The view that the labor market is segregated by race/ethnicity.

Stigma: The ostracism of people from particular social groups, built into both individual social interactions as well as social institutions.

Stolen generation: Refers to a population of thousands of mixed-race children in Australia who were kidnapped from their families by welfare officials and placed in institutions or with white families to work as cheap or slave labor.

Structural adjustment programs: Policies that reduce government spending in poor nations, cutting programs in education, healthcare, transportation, and other government-funded projects in order to accumulate money to pay back the interest on loans.

Subaltern proliferation of difference: The effect that takes place when people from former and current colonies spread throughout the globe,

bringing with them their “difference” and challenging the normativity of those in power.

Sustainability: Refers to the ability of the planet to survive.

Systemic racism: The combination of racist beliefs, practices, ideologies and attitudes in every major part of society that maintains and rationalizes white privilege and power.

Taino: An indigenous population in the Dominican Republic.

“Three K” jobs: A reference to the types of jobs in Japan for which labor recruiters brought in unskilled and undocumented workers beginning in the 1980s: *kitawai* (dirty), *kiken* (dangerous), and *kitsui* (demanding).

Transatlantic slave trade: The almost 400-year-long trade, legal and illegal, of slaves into the United States from countries such as Haiti and Africa.

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Tribalism: The idea that people in Africa organized themselves into tribes with opposing interests and values.

Ubuntu: An African term that emphasizes harmony and connections amongst people in a society.

WCAR: The World Conference Against Racism.

White privilege: Refers to the benefits that members of a dominant racial/ethnic group are afforded in everyday life, about which members of this group are usually unaware.

White racial frame: A way of thinking that provides a rationale for the oppression of racial/ethnic groups and presents whiteness as virtuous and good in contrast to negative stereotypes of people of color.

Whitening: The idea that in order for a country to survive and prosper it must be dominated by white people and Europeans.

Windrush generation: British Caribbean people who came to the United Kingdom in the period after World War II, named so because they came on a boat called *Windrush*.

World Bank: Part of the United Nations, this group includes most nations on its board. The members of the board with the greatest financial contributions have the greatest say in the bank’s decision-making process.

Zainichi Koreans: People whose families came to Japan from Korea during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Korea was under Japanese rule.

Zapatistas: A rebel army in the state of Chiapas in Mexico that demanded political and social reforms aimed at improving the lives of the indigenous population in Chiapas.

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INDEX

Note: page numbers in italics refer to figures or tables.

- Aboriginals. *See* indigenous peoples of Australia
- Act of Union (South Africa, 1910), 86
- affirmative action
 - in Brazil, 148, 149, 155, 161, 163–65
 - critiques of, 164–65
 - debate on, 16
 - definition of, 163
 - history of concept, 163
 - in India, 72
 - in Malaysia, 115
 - and reverse discrimination, 165
 - soft *vs.* hard approaches to, 163
- Africa, British colonial rule in, 43–44, 58–61
- African Americans
 - as ethnic group, 35
 - racialization of in slave trade, 35
 - as tourists to slave trade sites, 50, 51
 - white views of, 78
- African diaspora, 50
- African National Congress (ANC), 93, 94–96
- Africans
 - history of European views on, 45–46, 47, 78
 - resistance to slave trade, 54
- Afrikaners, 83, 84, 85, 86
- agricultural workers, NAFTA and, 125
- Ainu (Uta) people, 132, 133, 140
- Ambedkar, Bhimrao R., 71, 78–79, 80, 163
- American Revolution, and slavery, 54–55
- Amerika, as term, 128–29
- Amerikano, as term, 128–29
- Amin, Idi, 112
- ANC. *See* African National Congress
- Ansa (king of Ghana), 54
- anthropology, biological theory of race and, 24, 25
- antimiscegenation laws, 78
- antipoverty programs, in Vietnam, 181–82
- antiracist activists, critique of multiculturalism, 119–21
- anti-Semitism, and Holocaust, 146
- apartheid
 - and antimiscegenation laws, 152
 - caste system as, 75
 - global, capitalism and, 40
 - Marxist theory on, 92–93
 - pillars of, 105–6
 - US slave culture as, 55
- apartheid in Israel, 99–106
 - HSRC report on, 101–6
 - international interest in, 101
 - and Palestinians as racial group, 106
 - three pillars of, 105–6
- apartheid in South Africa, 82, 83.
 - See also* Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- abolition of, 92, 93, 96
- Afrikaner dominance in, 83, 84
- development of, 86
- dismantling of under ANC, 93
- forced removals of Coloured people under, 87
- hierarchical ranking of races in, 90, 91
- homelands and, 87, 90
- laws and regulations under, 86–87, 88–89
- Marxist theory on, 92–93
- motives for non-elite support of, 93
- ongoing de facto discrimination, 92
- pass laws in, 87–90
- political struggle to abolish, 94–96
- race categories under, 90–91, 92

- regulation of Black and Coloured labor under, 90
 - split labor market theory on, 93
 - US Jim Crow laws and, 83, 91–92
 - US support for, 97–98
- Arocena, Filipe, 154
- Aryans, 145
- Aso, Taro, 139
- assimilationist theories of race/ethnicity, 11–12, 15, 151
 - in Brazil, 149, 151, 152–55
 - in Japan, 133
- austerity programs
 - global North profits from, 38
 - as neocolonialism, 37
- Australia, British colonization of, 174.
 - See also* indigenous peoples of Australia
- banking industry, institutional racism
 - in, 33, 38
- al-Bashir, Omar, 186
- Bean, Frank, 166
- BEE (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, South Africa, 2003), 98–99
- biological theory of race/ethnicity
 - claims of, 4, 10
 - as common belief, 10–11, 21, 23, 28
 - creation of, 25–28
 - critiques of, 22–24
 - as false, 11, 21–22, 23, 24, 36
 - history of, 24–25
 - Human Genome Project and, 29–31
 - origin of concept, 44–49, 78
 - racial mixing and, 26–27
 - variations within race and, 25–26
- black
 - as metaphor, 155
 - as signifier, 167
- Black essentialism, 50–51
- blanqueamiento*. *See* whitening
- Boer Wars, 85
- Bonacich, Edna, 113–14
- Botha, Louis, 86
- Brazil
 - abolition of slavery in, 150
 - actions to combat racism, 161–63
 - affirmative action in, 148, 149, 155, 161, 163–65
 - and assimilationist theory, 149, 151, 152–55
 - color lines in, 158–59, 162, 166–67
 - higher education system in, 148
 - immigration policies, racist, 153
 - myth of as postracial society, 149, 154
 - population of African descent in, 150
 - racial/ethnic groups in, 150, 158, 167
 - racial/ethnic inequality in, 149, 154–55, 158–59, 168
 - segregation in, 168
 - slavery in, 49, 149, 150
 - social exclusion in, 158–59
 - stages of belief about racial/ethnic inequality in, 150–51
 - whitening (*blanqueamiento*) of, calls for, 152, 153
- British colonialism
 - in Africa, 43–44, 58–61
 - in Australia, 174
 - British Empire in 1900, 116, 117
 - in India, 68–70
 - and middlemen minorities, 111, 112–13
 - in Palestine, 99–100
 - reparations for, 118
 - in South Africa, 85–87
- Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act [BEE] (South Africa, 2003), 98–99
- Brundtland Commission, 190
- Burakumin, 132, 133–34
- Canada
 - indigenous people of, 179–80
 - interculturalism in, 120
 - NAFTA and, 125
- capitalism
 - centrality of race in, 18
 - class conflict theory on, 13–14
 - and global inequality, 39, 39–40
 - intersectionality theory on, 16
 - market theory on, 12–13
 - racism as product of, 79
- Cardoso, Fernando Henriquez, 161
- Caribs, 170, 171
- Casa-Grande & Senzala* (Freyre), 152–54

- caste system(s)
 - definition of, 77
 - in Japan, 74, 74, 133–34
 - in nations outside India, 74, 74, 75, 79
 - as racism, debate on, 75, 76–81
 - US racism as type of, 77–78
 - World Conference Against Racism on, 80–81
- caste system in India, 66, 66–68.
 - See also Dalits
 - colorism in, 69–70
 - de facto continuation of, 72–73
 - Gandhi's views on, 70
 - Hinduism and, 65, 66–67, 71, 78–79
 - history of, 65
 - impact of colonial rule on, 68–70
 - Indian independence movement and, 70
 - outlawing of, 65, 71–73
 - and women, abuse of, 73, 76
- Catholic Church
 - on colonialism, 179–80
 - on slavery, 46
- census(es)
 - in Brazil, racial classifications in, 158
 - of castes, in colonial India, 68–69
 - globally, terms for race in, 26–27
 - US, racial classifications in, 25, 28, 35–36
- China, policy on indigenous people, 184–85
- Chua, Amy, 111
- civil rights activists, US, and South
 - African apartheid, 98
- civil rights laws, critical race theory on, 15
- class conflict theory, 13–14
- CM. See colonial mentality
- Collins, Patricia Hill, 16–17
- colonialism
 - centrality of race in, 18
 - definition of, 45, 58
 - Doctrine of Discovery (1455) and, 179–80
 - duration of, 58
 - and Filipino colonial mentality, 128–29
 - Haiti and, 55
 - history of, 45
 - and Indian caste system, 68–70
 - and indigenous peoples, oppression of, 174
 - Japanese, and *Nihonjinron* concept, 138
 - and *Maafa* (African Holocaust), 52
 - and middleman minorities, 111, 112–13, 114, 115
 - and migration, 109
 - ongoing forms of, 45
 - and race concept, origin of, 45
 - and Rwandan genocide, 17, 62–63
 - and system of inequality, 17
 - Treaty of Berlin and, 60, 61
 - tribalism in Africa as creation of, 43–44, 57–61
- colonial mentality (CM), 128–29
- colorblind society, critical race theory on, 15
- colorism
 - in Brazil, 158, 167
 - in Dominican Republic, 160
 - importance in US, 131
 - in Indian caste system, 69–70
- color line(s), 165–68
 - in Brazil, 158, 162, 166–67
 - in Columbia, 162
 - in Dominican Republic, 159–61, 162
 - global, 17–18
 - importance of, 131
 - moving of, 166
 - in Panama, 162
 - as social construct, 33
 - in US, 165–66
- Coloured Labour Preference Policy (South Africa), 90
- Coloured South Africans
 - definition of, 90–91
 - forced removals of, 87
 - motives for support of apartheid, 93
 - privileges vs. Blacks, 90
 - as term, 87
- Columbia, color lines in, 162
- Columbus, Christopher, 171, 186–87
- Committee for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (UN), 151
- Communist ideology, 182

- constructive engagement, of US with South African apartheid, 98
- context, critical racial theory on, 16
- Convention Concerning the Protection and Integration of Indigenous and Other Tribal and Semitribal Populations in Independent Countries (ILO), 173
- Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (UN), 185–87
- Cox, Oliver, 79, 80
- Crenshaw, Kimberle, 16–17
- criminal justice system, institutional racism in, 14, 33
- critical race theory, 14–16
- Dalits
- abuse of, 64, 65
 - affirmative action for, 72
 - female, abuse of, 73, 76
 - Indian independence movement and, 71
 - legal protections for, 71–72, 76
 - modern religions of, 67
 - in nations outside India, 74, 74
 - number of, 67, 75
 - poverty rate among, 73
 - rights movements, 71, 75–76, 80
 - social stigma attached to, 67–68
 - status in caste system, 66, 66–67
 - as term, 68
- Dalit Swadhikar Rally (2004), 76
- Darfur, genocide in, 186
- dark, as metaphor, 155
- Davis, Angela, 56
- debt, global
- as global apartheid, 40
 - as neocolonialism, 37
 - profits of global North from, 38, 39, 39–40
- debtor nations, global South nations as, 38
- de facto segregation
- in Brazil, 168
 - in India after caste system, 72–73
 - in South Africa after apartheid, 92
 - in US after Jim Crow laws, 92, 168
- de jure vs. de facto segregation, 92–93
- Delgado, Richard, 15–16
- Deskaheh (Cayuga chief), 173
- Destiny of the Race Resolution (Australia), 176–77
- developing nations. *See also* global South
- definition of, 37
 - developmental discourse, 129
 - exploitation of in globalization, 37
- development assistance, to global South, 39, 39
- discrimination. *See* racial discrimination
- DNA
- Human Genome Project, 28–31
 - and race, 20, 21–22, 23, 29–31
- Doctrine of Discovery (1455), 179–80
- Doi Moi*, in Vietnam, 180, 182–84
- Dominicanization, 160
- Dominican Republic
- anti-Haitian discrimination in, 160–61
 - antiracist activism in, 161
 - and *blanqueamiento* (whitening), calls for, 161
 - color lines in, 159–61, 162
 - Dominicanization in, 160
 - racial schema in, 159–61
- door of no return, 42, 43, 50
- Douglas, Karen Manges, 113
- Dred Scott case, 48
- Du Bois, W. E. B., 14–15, 16, 17–18, 131, 165–66
- Dutch East India Co., 84
- Earth Charter (2000), 190
- economic conflict theories, 12–14, 79
- economic power, 7
- education, and racial/ethnic identification, 162
- Elias, S., 157
- Elmina Castle (Ghana), 42, 49–50, 50–51
- Eltis, David, 49
- Emancipation Proclamation (1863), 49
- entitlement, white racial frame and, 156–57
- environmental protections, NAFTA and, 125
- environmental racism, 187–89
- ethnicity, vs. race, 35–36. *See also* race/ethnicity

- ethnonationalism. *See also* Holocaust
 definition of, 142
 effort to combat, 147
- European Union
 anti-immigration sentiment in,
 122–23
 and Dalit rights movement, 76
- exploitation, race/ethnicity as system
 of, 6
- extermination camps of Holocaust, 145
- false consciousness, 93
- Fanon, Frantz, 14–15
- Feagin, Joe, 53, 155–56, 157
- Fernandes, Florestan, 154
- FIFA (Fédération Internationale de
 Football Association), 2, 3
- Filipino Americans, and colonial
 mentality, 128–29
- Final Solution, 145
- financial system, institutional racism
 in, 33
- First Nations people
 in Canada, 179–80
 and US racism, 33
- floating signifier, race/ethnicity as, 167
- force, as tool to maintain racial/ethnic
 formations, 34–35
- Fordism, and US economy,
 123–24
- Founding Fathers, US, and slavery, 55
- France
 expulsion of Roma, 143
 racial categories as illegal in, 26
- Frederickson, George, 35
- Freedom Riders (Australia), 175
- Freyre, Gilberto, 152–54
- Fundamental Law of Education
 (Japan, 2006), 138
- Gandhi, Mohandas, 70–71
- gender, as system of oppression, 16–17,
 56–57
- genetics, and biological theory of race,
 21–22, 25–31
- genocide, 185–87. *See also* Holocaust
 definition of, 185
 examples of, 186–87
 in Rwanda, 17, 62–63
 UN Convention on, 185–86
- genotype, and race, 24
- Ghana
 British colonial rule in, 43–44,
 58–60
 Slave Castles in, 42, 43, 49–50, 50–51
 social structure, pre-colonial, 58–59
 tribes in, as British creation, 43–44
 views on Black essentialism in,
 50–51
- global apartheid, 40
- global care chains, 126–28
- global climate change, 190
- global color line, 17–18
- Global Conference Against Racism and
 Caste-based Discrimination
 (2001), 75–76
- globalization
 benefits of, 37
 definition of, 37
 and developing nations,
 exploitation of, 37–38
 and global North culture, spread
 of, 121
 and *Maaafa* (African Holocaust), 52
 and migration, 121, 123, 126–28
 neoliberalism and, 124–25
 and subaltern proliferation of
 difference, 121
- global North
 control by whites, 37
 definition of, 37
 domination of global South by, 17
 and environment racism, 187–88
 globalization and, 121, 124
 migration to, 121, 123, 126–28
 profits from global South, 38, 39,
 39–40
- global South
 definition of, 37
 domination by global North, 17
 flow of money to global North from,
 38, 39, 39–40
 globalization and, 121, 124
 global North aid to, 39, 39
 migration from, 121, 123, 126–28
 poverty, effects of, 17
 predominance of debtor nations in, 38
 predominance of people of color in,
 37–38
- global system
 global apartheid in, 40
 institutional racism in, 37, 38–39

- Goffman, Erving, 67
 government role in addressing racism, theories on, 12
gracias as sacar policy, 162
 Gramsci, Antonio, 10, 35
 Great Chain of Being, 47–48
 Guatemala, Mayan genocide in, 187
- Haiti
 colonialism and, 55
 modern slavery in, 55, 55
 racial schema in, 159
 repayment to slave owners for lost property, 55
 slave revolt in, 54
 US reaction to slave revolt in, 54, 55
 Haitians, Dominican discrimination against, 160–61
 Hall, Stuart, 118, 119, 121, 167
 Hamitic hypothesis, 62–63
 Hartsock, Nancy, 9–10
 Hawken, Paul, 190–91
 healthcare system
 and biological theory of race, 28, 29
 institutional racism in, 14
 myths about race and illness, 30–31
 and precision medicine, 29
 hegemony, in maintaining racial/ethnic formations, 34–35
 Henry, Patrick, 55
 Herero people, genocide against, 187
 higher education institutions
 affirmative action in Brazil, 163–65
 debate on racial quotas in, 16
 Hinduism
 Gandhi's views on, 70
 and Indian caste system, 65, 66–67, 71, 78–79
 Hochschild, Arlie, 126–27
 Holocaust, 142–45
 extermination camps, 145
 and human rights violations, responsibility to oppose, 145–46
 number of people killed in, 142, 145
 types of people killed in, 142, 144
 homelands, in South African apartheid, 87, 90
 Hong Kong, Indians as middleman minority in, 112–13
 Horne, Gerald, 54–55
 housing market, institutional racism in, 14, 33
 HSRC. *See* Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa
 human genome, defined, 28–29
 Human Genome Project, 28–31
 human rights. *See also* rights movements
 definition of, 145
 international law on, as protection against racism, 145
 violations of, responsibility to oppose, 145–46
 Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa, 101–6
- immigrants, irregular
 dangers faced by, 122–23, 126
 increase in, 122
 from Mexico to US, 125–26
 US criminalization of, 126
 Immigration Control and Refugee Act (Japan, 1990), 135, 136
 immigration restrictions, 122–23
 in Brazil, 153
 as dangerous and ineffective, 122–23
 in Japan, 135, 136, 137, 139–40, 141, 153
 neoliberal globalization and, 125
 in South Africa, 153
 in US, 126, 153
 indentured laborers, as middleman minorities, 112
 India. *See also* caste system in India
 affirmative action in, 72
 British colonial rule in, 68–70
 independence movement in, 70–71
 indigenous peoples
 in Americas, genocide against, 186–87
 in Brazil, 150
 in Canada, 179–80
 in China, government policy on, 184–85
 Communist ideology's support for, 182
 culture, struggle to maintain, 172–74
 definition of, 172
 and environment racism, 187–89
 European killing of, 171

- indigenous peoples (*Continued*)
 - languages of, risk of extinction, 174
 - names/labels for, 172
 - number of globally, 172
 - oppression of, 174
 - removal of children from, 175–79, 177, 180
 - on St. Kitts, 170, 171
 - separation from dominant society, 172
 - and sustainability, 191
 - of Vietnam, government protection of, 180–84
- indigenous peoples of Australia (Aboriginals), 174–79
 - culture, government attempt to destroy, 176–78
 - decline after European contact, 174
 - discrimination against, 175
 - government apology to, 178–79
 - history of before European contact, 174
 - kidnapping of children by government, 175–79, 177
 - political activism by, 174–75
- indigenous rights
 - activism for, 172, 173, 189, 190
 - UN and, 173
- indio, as racial classification (Dominican Republic), 159–60
- Indonesia
 - Chinese as middleman minority in, 114–15
 - and pluralism, 116
- inequality
 - capitalism and, 39, 39–40
 - colonialism and, 17
 - as focus of antiracist activists, 120–21
- institutional racism. *See also* systemic racism
 - in Brazil, 154–55
 - examples of, 33–34
 - in global system, 37, 38–39
 - pervasiveness of, 14, 33
 - as product of slavery, 48
 - radical change required to remedy, 34
 - as tool of oppression, 34–35
- interculturalism, 119, 120
- International Conference on the Human Rights of Dalit Women, 76
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (UN), 139
- International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (UN), 94–95, 97, 102
- International Monetary Fund, and global inequality, 39
- interpersonal relationships, social construction of race/ethnicity in, 34
- intersectionality theory, 16–17, 56, 57, 73
- invisibility of racism, 15, 155–56
- irregular immigrants. *See* immigrants, irregular
- Israel. *See also* apartheid in Israel; Occupied Palestinian Territories
 - calls for divestment from, 99
 - capture of Palestinian lands, 100, 101
 - establishment of, 100
 - expulsion of Palestinians from, 100
 - Jewish population of as mostly immigrants, 100
 - Law of Return, 100, 105
 - Palestinians currently living in, 100
- Italy, rescue of irregular migrants by, 123
- Japan
 - caste system in, 74, 74, 133–34
 - colonialism, and *Nihonjinron* (Japaneseness) concept, 138
 - discrimination in, 133, 134, 135, 137, 137, 138–39, 140
 - domestic/indigenous minority groups in, 132, 133–34
 - and ethnonationalism, 142
 - immigration policy, 135, 136, 137, 139–40, 141, 153
 - monoethnicity/homogeneity myth in, 132, 138–39
 - new foreigners in, 132, 135–36
 - Nihonjinron* (Japaneseness) concept in, 136–39
 - old foreigners in, 132, 134–35

- postwar migration from, 136
- public education in, 138
- racial/ethnic diversity in, 130, 132–36
- racism in, 138, 139–40, 141
- Jefferson, Thomas, 47, 55
- Jenkins, Roy, 119
- Jerusalem, 99, 100
- Jewish ghettos, 145
- Jews. *See also* Holocaust; Israel
 - and Brazil's whitening policy, 153
 - Holocaust and, 142, 145
 - in Nazi Germany, oppression of, 27, 35, 142–45
- Jim Crow laws, 83, 91–92
- justice
 - restorative, 96–97
 - retributive, 96
- Kaikoku, 136, 137
- Kenya, middlemen minorities in, 112
- Kristallnacht*, 143
- labor markets, institutional racism
 - in, 14, 33
- Latin America, *gracias as sacar* policy
 - in, 162
- law, critical race theory on, 15–16
- Law of Return (Israel), 100, 105
- Law of Social Quotas (Brazil), 163, 164
- League of Nations, 173
- Lee, Jennifer, 166
- legal system. *See also* criminal justice system
 - institutional racism in, 33
 - and slaves as property, 48
- Lemkin, Raphael, 185
- Lentz, Carola, 57–58
- Lewontin, Richard, 25
- liberalism, critical race theory on, 15
- life outcomes, race/ethnicity and, 6
- Lincoln, Abraham, 151–52
- Linnaeus, Carolus, 24
- Maafa* (African Holocaust), 52
- malaria
 - human activities promoting, 31
 - sickle cell trait and, 30–31
- Malaysia
 - Chinese as middleman minority
 - in, 114, 115
 - New Economic Policy in, 115
 - and pluralism, 116
- Mandela, Nelson, 93, 95, 96, 101
- Manusmriti, 67
- maquiladoras, 125
- market theory, 12–13, 14
- marriage, interracial
 - in Brazil, 149, 151, 152–55
 - laws against, 86, 152
- marrons*, 54
- Marshall, John, 180
- Martinez Cobo, José, 172, 173
- Marxist theory
 - on apartheid, 92–93
 - support for indigenous equality, 182
- The Masters and the Slaves* (Freyre), 152–54
- Maya, genocide against, 187
- McIntosh, Peggy, 7, 8–9
- media
 - pervasiveness of racism in, 14
 - presentation of Western lifestyle
 - as goal, 129
- medicine. *See* healthcare system
- Menard, Francois, 62
- mestizo identity, in Dominican Republic, 159–61, 162, 165
- Mexicans
 - irregular immigrants to US, 125–26
 - number living in US, 126
- Mexico
 - indigenous revolt in, 189
 - NAFTA and, 125–26
- Middle East
 - colonialism in, 58
 - migration to EU from, 122
- middleman minorities, 111–12
 - Bonacich theory of, 113–14
 - British use of, 111, 112–13, 114, 115
 - colonialism and, 111, 112–13, 114, 115
 - hostility of host community toward, 112, 113–14, 114–15
 - Indians in Uganda and Hong Kong, 112–13
 - in Indonesia, 114–15
 - in Japan, 134
 - in Malaysia, 114, 115
 - pluralism as solution to plight
 - of, 115–16

- migrant remittances
 flow from global North, 39, 39
 global volume of, 124
 impact in global South, 127
 transnational migrants and, 123
- migrants. *See also* immigrants, irregular
 range of responses to, 122
 transnational, 123
 vulnerability to abuse, 121–22,
 127–28
- migration. *See also* immigration
 restrictions
 colonialism and, 109
 early human, 108–9, 109
 globalization and, 121, 123, 126–28
 from Japan, postwar, 136
 to Japan, 135, 136
 neocolonialism and, 109
 power over, 109
 slave trade and, 109
 by women, 123
- Millennium Dalit Charter, 76
- miscegenation (*mestiçagem*;
 miscegenação). *See also*
 marriage, interracial
 Brazilian pride in, 152, 154
 as term, 151–52
- Mixed Marriages and Immorality Act
 (South Africa, 1948), 86
- modernity, centrality of race in, 18
- money, as social construct, 32
- monoethnicity, in Japan
 education policy and, 138
 myth of, 132
 origin of myth, 138–39
- Montt, Efraín Ríos, 187
- Movement for the Survival of the
 Ogoni People (MOSOP), 188
- mulatto identity, in Dominican
 Republic, 158, 161
- multicultural drift, 118
- multiculturalism, 12
 Communist ideology and, 182
 critiques of, 119–21
 interculturalism and, 119, 120
 vs. pluralism, 119
 and subaltern proliferation of
 difference, 121
 in United Kingdom, move toward,
 118–21
 in Vietnam, 181–82
- multinational corporations, and global
 inequality, 39, 39–40
- Myrdal, Gunnar, 77–78, 79, 80
- NAFTA. *See* North American Free
 Trade Agreement
- Nakasone, Yasuhiro, 139
- Narzary, Dharitri C., 138
- National Campaign on Dalit Human
 Rights (NCDHR), 75–76
- national identity, ways of thinking
 about, 142
- nationalism, Ghandi and, 70
- National Sorry Day (Australia), 178
- National System for the Promotion of
 Racial Equality (Brazil), 163
- Native Land Act (South Africa,
 1913), 86
- Natives (Urban Areas) Act (South
 Africa, 1923), 86
- Nazi Germany. *See also* Holocaust
 and Nuremberg Trials, 96
 oppression of Jews in, 27, 35,
 142–45
- neocolonialism, 37, 58
 and *Maaafa* (African Holocaust), 52
 and migration, 109
- neoconservative theory. *See* market
 theory
- neoliberal globalization, 124–25
 NAFTA and, 125–26
- Netherlands, South Africa settlement
 by, 85–86
- Neville, A. O., 176
- New Economic Policy (Malaysia), 115
- New Order Rule (Indonesia), 115
- Niemöller, Martin, 145–46
- Nigeria, environmental racism in,
 187–89
- Night of Broken Glass, 143
- Nihonjinron* (Japaneseness) concept
 and dislike of immigrants, 139
 influence in Japan, 137–38
 origin of, 138–39
 tenets of, 137–38
- Nikkeijin, 132, 136
- NitroMed Corp., 31
- No Future Without Forgiveness*
 (Tutu), 97
- North American Free Trade Agreement
 (NAFTA), 125–26, 189

- Nuremberg Laws (1935), 145
 Nuremberg Trials, 96
- Obama, Barack, 23, 24
- Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), 99–100
 HSRC report on, 101–6
 official development assistance to
 global South, 39, 39
- Ogoni people, 187–89
- Okinawans, in Japan, 132, 133
- Omi, Michael, 34, 35, 165
- Operation Marc Nostrum, 123
- Operation Reinhard, 145
- oppression, systems of
 gender as, 16–17, 56–57
 intersectionality theory on, 16–17
 race/ethnicity as, 6, 16–17, 34–35
 social class as, 16–17
- OPT. *See* Occupied Palestinian Territories
- Palestine, British colonial rule in, 99–100
- Palestinian Arab state, UN plan for, 100
- Palestinians. *See also* apartheid in Israel
 Israeli Law of Return and, 100, 105
 population, 100
- Panama, color lines in, 162
- Park, Robert, 11
- Paschel, Tiana, 162
- pass laws, in South African apartheid,
 87–90
- people of color, and white racial
 frame, 156
- Perkins, Charlie, 175
- Petrucelli, Jose Luiz, 158
- phenotype, and race, 23, 24
- Philippines
 and colonial mentality, 128–29
 migration of women from, 127
- plantations
 colonialism and, 45
 gendered division of slave labor
 on, 56
 and slavery, development of, 45
 in South Africa, 85
 wealth from, 53
- pluralism, 12
 critiques of, 119–21
 as dominant theory in many
 nations, 12
- interculturalism and, 119, 120
 middleman minorities and, 115–16
 vs. multiculturalism, 119
- police
 pervasiveness of racism in, 14
 violence against minorities in Great
 Britain, 119
- political power, 6–7
- Poona Pact of 1932, 71
- Population Restriction Act (South
 Africa, 1950), 90
- postracialism, white racial frame
 and, 157
- Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
 (PRSPs), 38
- power
 and control over migration, 109
 different forms of, 6–7
 and Indian caste system, 73
 inequalities of, as focus of antiracist
 activists, 120–21
 race/ethnicity as system of, 6
- precision medicine, 29
- Prevention of Atrocities Act (India,
 1989), 71–72
- privatization, as neocolonialism, 37
- quotas, in Indian affirmative action
 plan, 72. *See also* racial quotas
- race. *See also* biological theory of race/
 ethnicity
 biological definition of, 4
 DNA and, 20, 21–22, 23, 29–31
 vs. ethnicity, 35–36
 origin of concept in slavery,
 44–49, 78
 as social construct, 4–6, 21–22, 23,
 31, 32–35, 167–68
- race/ethnicity
 centrality to global history, 18
 definition of, 5–6
 as floating signifier, 167
 and life outcomes, 6
 physical features used to define, 33
 as system of oppression, 6,
 16–17
 as term, 36
 variations in definition across time
 and place, 6, 23, 25, 31, 36,
 167–68

- race/ethnicity studies, US as
 paradigmatic case in, 167
 race relations cycle (Park), 11
 racial categories. *See also* colorism;
 color line(s); racial hierarchy
 modern, slavery and, 26
 in South African apartheid,
 90–91, 92
 racial characteristics, as essentialized
 social constructs, 5
 racial discrimination
 in Brazil, 149, 154–55, 158–59, 168
 in Japan, 133, 134, 135, 137, 137,
 138–39, 140
 justification of through racial
 frames, 155
 UN definition of, 36
 in US, de facto segregation and, 168
 racial/ethnic formations
 definition of, 34
 maintaining, 34–35
 racial/ethnic ideologies, as product
 of inequality, 34
 racial/ethnic justice, and
 sustainability, 191
 racial/ethnic minorities. *See also*
 middleman minorities
 definition of, 110
 discrimination against, 110
 skin color and, 131
 racial frame, 155. *See also* white racial
 frame
 racial hierarchy. *See also* colorism
 as common belief in 1930s, 152
 in South African apartheid, 90, 91
 white racial frame and, 157
 racial project
 affirmative action as, 165
 definition of, 165
 racial quotas
 in Brazil, 161, 163, 164–65
 debate on, 16
 racial schema, 159
 racism
 caste systems as, debate on, 75,
 76–81
 as class exploitation, 79
 definitions of, 7
 environmental, 187–89
 as global problem, 17–19
 invisibility of, 15, 155–56
 origin of in justifications of slavery,
 46–49
 pervasiveness of, 14, 15
 as product of capitalism, 79
 white refusal to acknowledge,
 156, 157
 Racism, Racial Discrimination,
 Xenophobia and Related
 Intolerance conference. *See*
 World Conference Against
 Racism (2001)
 Ratana, W. T., 173
 Reagan, Ronald W., 97–98
 religion, in India, and caste system, 65,
 66–67, 71, 78–79
 religious institutions, institutional
 racism in, 14
 remittances. *See* migrant remittances
 reparations
 Australia Aboriginals and, 178–79
 Brazilian affirmative action as, 165
 for British colonialism, 118
 white racial frame and, 156–57
*Report of the World Commission on
 Environment and Development:
 Our Common Future* (UN,
 1987), 190
 restorative justice, 96–97
 retributive justice, 96
 reverse discrimination, affirmative
 action and, 165
 Richardson, David, 49
 rights movements
 Dalits and, 71, 75–76, 80
 indigenous peoples and, 172, 173,
 189, 190
 Rukyuan Empire, 133
 Rodney, Walter, 50–51
 Roma, 142, 143, 144
 Rudd, Kevin, 178
 Rwanda
 caste system in, 74
 genocide in, 17, 62–63
 Sadoku, 136, 137
 Saenz, Rogelio, 113
 Said, Edward, 45
 St. Kitts, indigenous people of, 170, 171
 Samarendra, 68–69
 San Francisco Peace Treaty (1952), 135
 Sarkozy, Nicolas, 143

- Saro-Wiwa, Ken, 188
- Scale of Nature, 47–48
- schools, institutional racism in, 14, 33,
34. *See also* higher education
institutions
- Schwalbe, Michael, 32
- scientific social theory, uses of, 8–10
- Scott, Dred, 48
- segregation, *de jure vs. de facto*, 92–93.
See also de facto segregation
- Seligman, C. G., 62
- settler nation, Canada as, 180
- sex, interracial, South African
apartheid and, 86
- Shell Oil, 187–89
- Shoah, 142. *See also* Holocaust
- sickle cell anemia, 30
- Sikhs, as middleman minority, 113
- skin color, and racial/ethnic
classification, 131, 158, 159,
160, 162
- Slave Castles, in Ghana, 42, 43, 49–50,
50–51
- slavery
in Brazil, 49, 149, 150
British abolition of, 55, 85
and concept of race, development
of, 44–49, 78
as crime against humanity, 53
economic benefits to slave
holders, 53
Founding Fathers as supporters
of, 55
justifications of, 46–49
modern, 55, 55–56
and modern racial categories, 26
ongoing effects of, 43–44
racism as legacy of, 43
resistance to, 53–57
in South Africa, 85, 86
and systemic racism, 53
US abolition of, 49
and white power as unjustly
gained, 53
- slaves
female, political leadership of,
56–57
modern, number of, 56
as property, 48
resistance to slavery, 54, 55, 56
value of in dollars, 53
- slave trade, transatlantic, 49–53
conditions for slaves in, 51
duration of, 49
historical preservation of sites, as
issue, 50–51
impact on African population,
50–52, 52
and *Maafa* (African Holocaust), 52
and migration, 109
mortality rate in, 49
number of slaves transported in, 49
origins and destinations for, 49–50
and racialization of African
Americans, 35
resistance to, 54–57
Slave Castles in, 42, 43, 49–50,
50–51
- soccer, racism in, 3
- social change, social theory as force
for, 10
- social class, as system of oppression,
16–17
- social construction, 32. *See also* race, as
social construct
- social exclusion, in Brazil, 158–59
- social formations. *See* racial/ethnic
formations
- social institutions, racism in. *See*
institutional racism
- social stigma
of Dalits, 67–68
definition and types of, 67
- social theory. *See also* theories about
race/ethnicity
as force for social change, 10
scientific, uses of, 8–10
unconscious use of in daily
activities, 8, 10–11
- sociologists, and social theory, 8–10
- sojourners
definition of, 112
middleman minorities as, 112, 113
- South Africa. *See also* apartheid in
South Africa; Truth and
Reconciliation Commission
and apartheid in Israel, 101–6
British and Dutch colonialism in,
85–87
civil rights activists' boycott of, 98
denial of citizenship to
non-whites, 86

- South Africa (*Continued*)
 history of racist violence in, 84–85
 immigration policies, racist, 153
 postapartheid empowerment of
 people of color, 98–99
 slavery in, 85, 86
 white population as minority in, 92
- Sowell, Thomas, 13
- split labor market theory, on South
 African apartheid, 93
- sports, racism in, 3
- Statute on Racial Equality (Brazil,
 2010), 161–63
- stigma. *See* social stigma
- Stolen Generation of Australian
 Aboriginals, 175–79, 177
- Structural Adjustment Programs
 (SAPs), 38
- subaltern proliferation of
 difference, 121
- Suharto, 115
- sustainability, debate on, 190, 190–91
- symbolic power, 6
- systemic racism, 53. *See also*
 institutional racism
- Taino, 159–60
- Taney, Roger B., 48
- Tanzania, middlemen minorities
 in, 112
- Telles, Edward, 159, 162, 168
- Thatcher, Margaret, 98
- theories about race/ethnicity, 11–16.
See also assimilationist
 theories of race/ethnicity;
 biological theory of race/
 ethnicity; multiculturalism;
 pluralism
 class conflict theory, 13–14
 critical race theory, 14–16
 economic theories, 12–14, 79
 economic theories, critiques
 of, 14–15
 intersectionality theory, 16–17, 56,
 57, 73
 market theory, 12–13, 14
- Thomas, W. I. and Dorothy, 32
- Thomas theory, 32
- Thompson, Debra, 18
- three K jobs, 135
- Titus, Alexander, 40
- Tomonaga, Kenzo, 134
- transatlantic slave trade. *See* slave trade,
 transatlantic
- Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade
 Database, 49
- transnational migrants, 123
- TRC. *See* Truth and Reconciliation
 Commission [TRC] (South
 Africa)
- Treaty of Berlin (1885), 60, 61
- tribalism in Africa
 as creation of colonial rule, 43–44,
 57–61
 and Rwandan genocide, 62–63
- Trujillo, Raphael, 160
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission
 [TRC] (South Africa), 93,
 96–97
 influence of, 97
- Tutu, Desmond, 93, 96–97
- Ubuntu, 96–97
- Uganda, Indians as middleman
 minority in, 112
- Underground Railroad, 56, 57
- United Kingdom. *See also* British
 colonialism
 abolition of slavery, 55, 85
 immigration law, 116–18
 and multiculturalism, move toward,
 118–21
 ongoing racial disparities in,
 118, 119
 population, by race, 118
 postwar influx of immigrants,
 116–18, 121
 and South African apartheid, 98
- United Nations
 and apartheid in Israel, 101
 on caste system as racism, 75,
 80–81
 Committee for the Elimination of
 All Forms of Racial
 Discrimination, 151
 Convention on the Prevention and
 Punishment of the Crime of
 Genocide, 185–87
 and Dalit rights movement, 76
 Declaration on the Rights of
 Indigenous People
 (UNDRIP), 173

- definition of racial discrimination, 36, 80–81
- and developing nations,
 - identification of, 37
- Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 154
- human rights provisions, centrality of race in, 18
- and indigenous rights, 173
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 36, 139
- International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, 94–95, 97, 102
- and Israel, establishment of, 100
- on Japan, minority rights in, 139–40, 141
- and Nigerian environmental racism, 188
- Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), 173
- Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future* (1987), 190
- and sustainability, 190
- and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Bank as organ of, 38
- United States (US)
 - British colonial rule in, 58
 - color line in, 165–66
 - Constitution, racism of, 33, 48
 - cultural influence of, 121
 - and Dalit rights movement, 76
 - denial of Native American land ownership, 180
 - immigration restrictions, 126, 153
 - importance of skin color in, 131
 - influence on World Bank, 38
 - institutional racism in, 33–34
 - Jim Crow laws, 83, 91–92
 - Mexican minority, hostility toward, 126
 - number of Mexicans living in, 126
 - ongoing de facto discrimination in, 92
 - as paradigmatic case in race/ethnicity studies, 167
 - race vs. ethnicity in, 35–36
 - racism in, 4, 18, 33, 77–78, 131
 - segregation in, as ongoing problem, 92, 168
 - and South African apartheid, 97–98
 - white privilege in, 7, 8–9
- United States, slavery in
 - American Revolution as defense of, 54–55
 - and apartheid, 55
 - female slaves' political leadership, 56–57
 - slave trade and, 49
 - wealth generated from, 53
- United States economy
 - and Fordism, 123–24
 - and neoliberal globalization, 124–25
- untouchables. *See* Dalits
- US Agency for International Development (USAID), 50–51
- Utari. *See* Ainu (Utari) people
- Vietnam
 - colonial rule in, 180
 - history of racial/ethnic injustice in, 180–81
 - indigenous peoples, government protection of, 180–84
 - multiculturalism in, 181–82
 - socialism, retreat from (*Doi Moi*), 180, 182–84
 - values of Communist party in, 182, 183
- virtuous whiteness, ideology of, 156–57
- war on terror, targeting of immigrants and nonwhites in, 121
- Washington, George, 55
- wealth, as means of increasing whiteness, 162
- Weber, Lynn, 6–7
- Weiner, Melissa, 5
- Werthein, Jorge, 165
- white culture, as normative
 - critiques of, 119–21
 - and invisibility of racism, 15, 155–56
 - white racial frame and, 157
- white elites, perpetuation of white racial frame, 155–56
- whitening (*blanqueamiento*)
 - Australian efforts toward, 177–78
 - of Brazil, calls for, 152, 153

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism
 - (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism
 - (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism
 - (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33

- whitening (*Continued*)
 - of Dominican Republic, calls for, 161
 - wealth as means of, 162
- white power, as unjustly gained, 53
- white privilege, 7, 8–9
- white racial frame, 155–57
- Wigginton, Sheridan, 161
- Wilson, Carter, 11, 12, 13
- Winant, Howard, 34, 35, 165
- Windrush* (ship), 116
- Windrush generation, 116
- women
 - enslaved, leadership of, 56–57
 - lower-caste, abuse of in India, 73, 76
 - migration by, 123, 126–27
 - white, marginalization of work by, 57
- worker protections
 - immigrants and, 127
 - NAFTA and, 125
- World Bank
 - and global inequality, 39
 - profits from global South debt, 38
 - and Western lifestyle as goal, 129
- World Conference Against Racism
 - (2001), 76, 80–81
- World Social Forums, 76
- World War II, and British Empire, 116
- Zainichi Koreans, 132, 134–35
- Zapatista National Liberation Army, 189
- Zinn, Howard, 33